DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 207 877 SO 013 525

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TITLE Education, Society and Politics in Sweden. Monograph No. 2.
INSTITUTION La Trobe Univ., Bundoora (Australia). Centre for Comparative and International Studies in Education.
REPORT NO ISBN-0-85816-242-3
PUB DATE Jun 80
NOTE 54p.
AVAILABLE FROM Comparative Centre, School of Education, La Trobe University, Bundoora, Victoria 3083, Australia ($5.00).

EDRS PRICE MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS *Comparative Education; Developed Nations; Educational History; Educational Objectives; *Educational Practices; Foreign Countries; Higher Education; Industrialization; Living Standards; *Politics; Secondary Education; *Social Change; Socialism; Sociocultural Patterns; Socioeconomic Background
IDENTIFIERS *Sweden

ABSTRACT

Interrelationships among the educational, social, and political systems of Sweden are examined, with particular emphasis on the recent trend toward internationalization. Sweden is described in general terms as a highly industrialized, technologically-advanced nation with a high standard of living, far-reaching welfare policies, and high levels of bureaucratization and taxation. Sweden's political system, which has been dominated by the socialist policies and ideology of the Social Democratic party since 1932, has taken seriously its mandate to inculcate children, youth, and adults with the predominantly socialist goals and ideals of Swedish society. Because this inculcation has taken place largely within the formal educational system, the author believes that an examination of educational objectives and practices will result in a clearer understanding of Swedish society. Review of major educational innovations in Sweden since the 1700's indicates that the trend toward internationalization is reflected in a variety of ways, including democratization of education; increase in the number of immigrant students (including political refugees, foreign workers, and children of foreign workers); increase in the number of courses at all educational levels on Sweden's role in the modern world; expansion of programs involving international technical and financial assistance to developing nations; increase in the amount of educational research on international topics; and generous government funding of international affairs institutes such as the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. The conclusion is that there is a close correspondence between the Socialist and international aims and philosphy of Sweden's society, educational system, and political system. (DB)

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EDUCATION, SOCIETY AND POLITICS IN SWEDEN

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Monograph No.2 June 1980 ISBN 0 85816 242 3

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SO 013 535

EDUCATION, SOCIETY AND POLITICS IN SWEDEN

Sweden today is a society that is one of the most highly-industrialised, technologically-advanced democracies, characterised by high standards of living for the relatively homogeneous population, and far-reaching welfare policies with concomitantly high levels of bureaucratisation and taxation. She emerged as a modern industrial state quite late in the European time-scale, and the pace of change, especially this century, has been rapid. A significant factor in that change, giving it many of its distinctive characteristics and directions, was a period of 44 years of government by the Social Democratic Party, which ruled alone or in coalition from 1932 to 1976.

Factors contributing to this long period of Social Democractic rule and the policies and ideology of the party can be traced back over centuries of history, some strands of which will be elucidated in this paper. And while the party is currently in some disarray following its electoral defeat in the last two elections, a factor which has recently been exacerbated by the referendum on nuclear energy, some indication of the pervasiveness of the ideology can be seen in, for example, the May 1980 strikes, the most widespread in Sweden's history. While it is too early to see the effects of these strikes on the party's electoral position, especially when seen in contradistinction to its performance in the referendum, some commentators have been quick to point out that such industrial action never took place under the Social Democrats and that the present coalition government can also be seen to be taking retrograde steps in the administration of welfare policies. To some extent these events reflect international trends in response to world economic crises affecting costs of living and levels of unemployment in recent years; Swedish reactions, however, can be seen to indicate both the extent to which expectations have been conditioned by the years of Social Democractic rule and a measure of geographic and cultural isolation which has given Sweden a certain "untouchable" mentality, re-interpreted under the prime ministership of Olof Palme as examplary leadership amongst at least small, like-minded nations.

If the educational system of a nation can be seen to be a reflection of its overall institutional patterns and dominant ideology, then it would be expected that innovation and change within education represents in microcosmic form features of the macrocosm of which it is a part. The extent to which education may be seen to have an important role in shaping the wider society depends on the view which is taken of education and the possibilities for it to be at least an intervening variable in the process of social and cultural production and reproduction. Since education has been an important feature of Swedish Social Democratic policy, the vehicle not only for socialising the younger generation but for reaching adults and new members of society, at least theoretically, presenting them with the dominant goals and ideals of the society and culture, an examination of education in its social, cultural and historical context will throw light on the way in which the society operates and changes. In particular, it is argued here that the process of legitimation of new educational knowledge, how new educational content is selected and incorporated into the formal educational system, provides an example of the operation of the educational system and its relationship with the wider context of society.

The particular educational innovation under consideration here is the internationalisation of Swedish education. This took place in the 1970s following a call by Prime Minister Palme, who depicted the need for

internationalisation as an extension of his vision of Sweden's role in the world and of the ways to make Swedish society aware of and ready to participate in this vision. Thus, this paper is a study of the influence of a particular set of ideas about development on the way in which it is studied within formal educational institutions, and the influence of the context in which those ideas are practised on the formulation of those ideas and the specific ways in which they are implemented. The study is approached by distinguishing between two major sets of factors, those which are external to the educational system, embedded in the history, culture and contemporary socio-political and economic system, including the values, norms and worldviews, and those within the educational system, both organisational, pedagogical and normative. These are considered to form the context within which educational change takes place, and since there is very little guidance from the literature for the identification and specification of such variables, this is an exploratory study which attempts to delineate the variables and depict their inter-relationships in order to show the way in which the internationalisation program has come into being and the legitimation of its particular characteristics.

1. EXTERNAL FACTORS

A. General Background

The emergence of Sweden as a united kingdom began during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and by the middle of the fourteenth century King Magnus Eriksson had drawn up a code of laws for the whole country.[1] The foundations of the modern Swedish state were laid, following the breakdown of the Kalmar Union which, formed in 1397, united all the Nordic lands.[2] Under Gustav Vasa, during the sixteenth century, Sweden, together with Finland, gained its independence from the Union and under Gustav II Adolf, a system of central government was organised based on principles which are still valid today. The riksdag, established in the fourteenth century to replace the ting (tribal courts which, from Viking days had inter alia been used for the election of kings), began to meet at least on an annual basis. The riksdag represented the four estates - nobles, clergy, burghers and farmers - and made important decisions on behalf of the people.[3] The kingship had been made hereditary in 1544, and Gustav II Adolf established five "colleges" equivalent to the modern government departments of external affairs, the army, the navy, the economy and justice.[4] While Christianity had come relatively late to Sweden, missionaries were active from a centre at Sigtuna in the eleventh century, and Uppsala became the seat of the first bishopric in the late 1130s. In 1527 Gustav Vasa became head of the Swedish church and in 1593 the Augsburg Confession was finally accepted and no other religion but Lutheranism was allowed to be publicly practised.[5]

The Viking period marked the first large-scale contact between Sweden and the wider world, although the backbone of Viking society was actually the free peasant, not the warrior. The next major outgoing phase, during which Sweden became part of the mainstream of Europe, began during Gustav II Adolf's reign. In 1621 war was declared on Poland, and in 1626 Prussia was attacked. In 1699 Russia, Saxony, Poland and Denmark-Norway joined an alliance against Sweden,[6] which by then embraced present-day Sweden, Finland, Ingermanland, Estonia, Latvia and coastal towns in northern Germany,[7] power over which Sweden had partly acquired through her participation in the Thirty Years War. By 1718 an end was put to Swedish-Finnish power, the allies having been joined by Prussia and England-Hanover. Apart from some minor colonial incursions - in 1638 Nya Sverige (New Sweden) was established in the USA in Delaware and parts of Pennsylvannia and sold to the Dutch in 1655,[8] an African trading company was established and built a fort on the Gold Coast in 1650, to be taken over by the Dutch in 1663,[9] while a tiny Caribbean island in the West Indies

was acquired from France in the early 19th century and sold back to France in the 1860s[10] - Sweden's main contacts with the rest of Europe after 1718 were commercial and cultural. In commerce, England and Holland were looked to as examples of development, while French culture became an important influence. The main focus of attention, following a new constitution, was on internal development, with agricultural reform, some state regulation of production (especially iron ore), interest in science and industry, improvement of the civil service and education, an attempt to establish a new balance of power between the king, council and estates, and a new spirit of religious tolerance especially towards Jews.[11]

Towards the end of the eighteenth century new alliances were formed following an outbreak of war with Russia in 1786, and by 1807 a combined French, Russian and Danish alliance threatened Sweden so that she withdrew her troops from Finland and eventually lost power over that country in 1809.[12] The Swedes were influenced by the French Revolution, and despite their alliance with England made some friendly overtures to Napoleon and invited his Marshall, Jean-Baptiste Bernadotte, to become their crown prince. In compensation for the loss of Finland, together with strong pressures from within Norway, Sweden acquired rulership over Norway from Denmark and from 1814 to 1905 a union existed between the two countries, although Norway retained her own constitution and civil service.[13]

While a series of social and commercial reforms began in the mid-nineteenth century, Sweden was at that time essentially conservative and the French and Enlightenment influences on intellectual and cultural life were replaced by German ones.[14] In the cultural and religious spheres at least, this conservative spirit extended to the end of the century. Although Scobbie maintains that a breakthrough of liberalism occurred in the second half of the century which took Sweden out of the romantic period,[15] and the intellectuals of the period may have belonged to the middle as well as the upper class, they felt themselves alien to the pietistic commercialism of the time as dramatically seen in the legal as well as personal battles of August Strindberg.[16,17]

Changes were again taking place within Sweden. The population had expanded dramatically (from 2.218 million in 1780 to nearly 4 million by the 1860s) although this was followed by large-scale emigration to the USA following the disastrous harvests of 1867-9 (from 80,000 in the early 1870s to 325,000 in the 1880s so that by 1910 there were 665,000 Swedish immigrants in the USA and 700,000 Americans of Swedish origin[18]). The four estates voted themselves out of existence in 1866, thus paving the way for fair political representation.[19] But at the time of the great harvest failure the growing numbers of unemployed rural labourers were unable to find alternative industrial employment. In 1870, seventy percent of the population was still earning a living from agriculture and only thirteen percent of the population was urban dwelling,[20] and poverty was a reality for significant proportions of the population. Sweden's natural resources of iron ore, timber and water, together with their widespread distribution throughout the country, in contrast to the concentration of agricultural land in the southern half (only ten percent of the country is arable)[21] and the stage at which Sweden began to industrialise, meant that rail and telecommunications were established which had special consequences for the north. The firm of L.M. Ericsson began making telephones in 1876, the railway line from the iron ore mines of Kiruna to the Norwegian port of Narvik was opened in 1902, and the formation in the second half of the nineteenth century of major banks and insurance companies for the accumulation of capital,[22] paved the way for rapid industrialisation especially in the engineering-technological fields. By the turn of the century, only fifty percent of the population was employed in agriculture, and a new pattern of living had been established.

B. Entering the Modern World

Industrialisation came late to Sweden and spread rapidly, and Sweden avoided the worst miseries of poverty and child labour that accompanied the Industrial Revolution in England and elsewhere. However, poverty was still a reality at the end of the nineteenth century. The second half of the nineteenth century was marked by a growing political consciousness amongst Swedes and the rise not only of political parties but of idealistic movements which were concerned with soical problems - alcoholism and poverty in particular - and became increasingly concerned with improving the lot of the working class.[23] While the Lantmannaparti, representing well-to-do farmers, controlled three-quarters of the seats in the Lower House, and was able to outvote the representatives of the rising industrial and civil service groups, other political parties were being formed and their messages were spread through a growing number of politically-oriented newspapers. Trade union organisation also took place from the 1860s onwards and their activities became more clearly focussed after the major strike of timber workers at Sundsvall in 1879. In April 1889 50 out of the existing 250 unions formed the Social Democractic Party, and in 1898 a confederation of trade unions, the Landsorganisation, was founded.[24]

While the massive emigration to the USA had provided a safety valve to defuse radical political pressures and had also provided a technological input through returning Swedes, the last quarter of the century was marked by a crystallisation of interests in party-political terms,[25] and by the growth not only of welfare organisations but of movements for a broader franchise, for women's rights and for consumer protection through co-operative organisations.[26] Modern party alignments were established, with the conservatives drawing their support from the large farmers, industrialists and upper middle classes, the liberals from the old radicals, temperance campaigners and Free Church Movements, small farmers and tradesmen, and the social democrats from the industrial workers, trade unionists and some radical intellectuals.[27]

The first social democractic representative was elected to the parliament in 1896, but before 1908 the party took no socio-political initiative in parliament although the party had opted for Marx's "little perspective" and taken on a reformist character.[28] A revolutionary element was apparent in the social democratic youth organisation, and in the increasing tendency of the trade union organisations to strike over a range of issues including the franchise, was a least characteristic of leftist labour movements of the time. But with the election of Hjalmar Branting as social democratic party leader in 1907, the main lines of Swedish social democratic approach to social reform through parliamentary means were established.[29] The turn of the century was marked by an optimism about the future of a society, based on the rationalisation of industry and commerce for the building of a better social environment, and on the use of more humane methods of child upbringing and extension of education to uplift man morally.[30] And while the great strike of 1909 paved the way for a syndicalist movement of workers to grow in opposition to the main labour movement the syndicalists carried out their revolutionary-oriented activities outside any party-political groups.[31]

The dissolution of the union with Norway marked a turning point in Swedish foreign policy. While she had been sympathetic towards Great Britain and France since 1855, she would not agree to the British Foreign Minister's plan for the great powers - Great Britain, France, Germany and Russia - to guarantee the integrity of Norway in return for her neutrality and to create a neutral Nordic defence group.[32] Sweden still considered Norway as a partner against Russia, a question which had become more pressing with the negotiations with Russia concerning the status of the Åland islands and Sweden's desire that Russia should give up some of her western territories.[33] Sweden realised

that she stood alone, having forged new relationships with Norway and maintained a certain antipathy towards Denmark.[34] Suspicion about Russia's intentions, especially in Finland, together with growing nationalism throughout Europe, led to increased concern about Sweden's defence forces and hard debates in parliament, between King and Prime Minister, and in the press during 1911-12.[35] There were calls for a closer liaison with Germany against Russia and the defence question led to a political crisis in 1913 during which the social democrats and some members of the Lantmannaparti wanted a decrease in armaments, while the other liberals took the opposite viewpoint.[36]

At the outbreak of World War I Sweden affirmed her policy of neutrality, as did Denmark and Norway. A "modus vivendi agreement" was made with the allies in late 1914 and in 1915 Germany attempted to involve Sweden on her side. Both the allies and Germany allowed Sweden a certain amount of trade, mainly in essential goods, especially food, and the Swedish government allowed certain goods to pass through the country for Russia.[37] Prime Minister Hjalmar Hammarskjöld pursued a policy of "active neutrality" and conferred with Norway, Denmark, and in 1916 with the USA, seeking possibilities for peace. Hammarskjöld made certain trade concessions to Britain in that year, which resulted in a hardening of German trade regulations, and Hammarskjöld's stand was strongly opposed by both social democratic leader Branting and the leading liberal spokesman, Edén.[38] Food shortages, especially of potatoes, together with the recent success of the Russian Revolution, led to an outbreak of political demonstrations in three major cities in 1917 and a leftist group broke from the social democrats early that year.[39]

The elections for the lower house in 1917 brought about a decline in support for the right and an increase for the left. The liberal and social democratic leaders agreed in principle to a coalition government under the prime ministership of the liberal leader Edén, but the left and right failed to agree on a program for constitutional reform so the liberals were commissioned to form a government in which social democrat Branting was made minister of finance.[40] A series of reforms took place especially in the welfare and educational sphere and the debate about the franchise, including the enfranchisement of women, gathered momentum. Within the social democratic party, the debate continued between the radical groups, who wanted a more socialistic program, and the moderates who continued to work with the liberals and emphasised the "democratic" side of their title.[41] The period 1920-6 was largely dominated by domestic concerns and by the middle of the 1920s Swedish industry had picked up from its war-time set-backs, and Sweden had become a receiver rather than a sender of migrants.[42] In foreign affairs, following Sweden's recognition of the independence of Finland in 1917, she concluded an agreement on the neutralisation and de-fortification of Åland and joined the League of Nations and, following from her wartime neutrality, played an active role in the drawing up of the Geneva protocol on peace and defence.[43]

A coalition government in which the frisinnade parti played an important role was formed in 1926,[44] with education and labour issues important areas for debate and action. Although Sweden was not at first hit by the crash of the New York stock exchange in 1929, the value of Swedish exports dropped and manufacturers wanted to lower wages. This led to a conflict with workers in 1931 which spread to many industrial centres, and the social democrats found themselves in a difficult position between criticism of police handling of demonstrations and of communist agitation which was said to have sparked off the conflict.[45] At this stage, one branch of the Swedish communisty party had good relationships not only with the Soviet Union but also with the communist party in Germany, while a national socialist party modelled along German lines was formed in Sweden in 1930.[46] The 1932 election

campaign for the lower house was dominated by the question of unemployment, the worst of the depression having now hit Sweden, and after the election Per Albin Hansson, social democratic leader, was asked to form the new government.[47]

Questions relating to labour continued to dominate internal politics in the mid-1930s, especially the issue of state help for the unemployed, and although Hansson's policies received some support from the farmers' party (especially his policies regarding agriculture), he lost the support of the frisinnade parti when they formed the folkparti with the liberals in 1934.[48] This was followed in 1935 by a fusion of the right parties in the lower and upper house to form the parliamentary right group, and at the same time one of the communist groups renamed itself Sweden's socialist party, leaving the Moscow-oriented group as the only claimants to the title communist.[49] Clerical workers in both the civil service and in private companies formed separate organisations and by 1935 their combined numbers were larger than those in the confederation of trade unions.[50] Parliament had difficulty in trying to resolve by legislative measures the problems of strikes and the rights of labour.

A series of negotiations between labour and employer organisations took place between 1936 and 1938, culminating in the Saltsjöbaden agreement of December 1938 which has formed the basis for subsequent employee-employer relationships and conflict resolution in Sweden.[51] The social democrats were in a governing coalition with the centre party during this period.[52]

With the growing strength of the national socialists in Germany, armaments and defence policy became a critical political issue and among other things, led to the banning of the carrying of private weapons and the wearing of military uniforms, a measure directed particularly against the Swedish national socialists.[53] At the same time the growing power of Hitler was discussed amongst the four Nordic countries but Sweden and Norway both refused to form a defence pact. Sweden, along with the other six countries that had been neutral during the first world war, broke off trade relations with Italy after the invasion of Abyssinia and agreed to the League of Nation's attempt to introduce sanctions against aggressor-states. Swedes fought as private individuals on the side of the government in the Spanish civil war, and about 4,800 refugees from Germany and Austria, of whom 3,000 were Jews,[54] were allowed into Sweden up until the outbreak of the second world war. A sore point in modern Swedish history was the refusal of Sweden to allow sixteen Central European Jewish refugees to land their small boat in Sweden three days before the war broke out.[55]

The outbreak of the war came at a time when Sweden could raise about 300,000 more or less trained servicemen, about half the number that she had a decade or so before that.[56] She remained neutral although some material and diplomatic aid was offered. She continued to trade with Germany, especially in iron ore, timber and ball bearings, trade which was important since Sweden's access to other markets was largely dependent on German goodwill. After Norway was invaded, she refused to let the Norwegian government operate in exile from Sweden or to allow allied forces to move from Narvik through Lappland to Finland, but considerable assistance was given to Norwegians and also Danes who sought refuge in Sweden. A meeting took place between the German theologian Dietrich Bonhoeffer, representing the views of the German opposition, and the Bishop of Chicester at the Nordic Ecumenical Institute of Sigtuna, but no useful outcome was possible. Up until 1943 a transit agreement existed between Sweden and Germany for the movement of troops and supplies. Pressure from the allies, especially their desire to buy ball bearings from Sweden, created difficulties in Sweden's trade with Germany and it ceased in early 1945.[57] During this period party politics played little part in Swedish life and Sweden, although more self-sufficient and hence better able to survive now than during the first world war, was to some extent cut off from the mainstream of Europe to emerge in 1945 "unscathed, but with an indefinite feeling of guilt".[58]

C. After the Second World War

As has been indicated in the foregoing outline of significant events in the internal and external policies of Sweden, the basis for the present parliamentary system dates from the sixteenth century although the most significant reforms took place in the 1920s and 1930s; from this latter period too date the major reforms in labour and welfare policies. While geography has to some extent played a significant part in Sweden's external relationships, she has undergone relatively short periods of engagement with the external world followed by retreats. This pattern can be discerned in her role in the first and second world wars and to some extent contributed to the late arrival of the industrial revolution in Sweden. At the same time, it allowed her to benefit from experience elsewhere in social as well as technological fields, and to innovate within the particular internal circumstances in which she found herself. The spectacular emergence from a poor, mainly agricultural country in the mid-nineteenth century to a modern welfare state has been the envy of many, and it is the aim of this section to trace post-war developments in internal and external policies, as the backdrop against which and the constraints within which educational change has taken place.

a. Population

Sweden has a population of 8,284,000.[59] This population has since earliest times been ethnically and linguistically homogeneous, with the exception of two minority groups: Finns, who had largely settled in the forested areas of central Sweden, and Lapps (Same people) who have inhabited the norther regions as far south as Dalarna province.[60] Since the 1960s Sweden has been one of the largest immigrant-receiving nations in Western Europe, and today migrants number 600,000 of whom 200,000 have become naturalised. The intake fluctuates according to economic and political circumstances elsewhere with a nett average annual intake of around 12,000 since 1965. The number of aliens has risen from 35,000 in 1945 (0.5% of the population) to 190,000 in 1960 (2.5%) and 430,000 in 1978 (5%).[61] The Lapps now number around 15,000 and of these, about 700 households still earn their living from traditional methods, namely reindeer herding.[62]

Amongst the immigrants, almost one half are females, children number 130,000 and people above the retiring age of 67 number 5,000. Most immigrants come from other Nordic countries, especially since the establishment of a common labour market between the five countries in 1954.[63] Finns number 197,000, Danes 29,000 and Norwegians 27,000, although a special agreement between Finland and Sweden, signed in 1973, which attempted to channel the movement between the two countries through the respective Public Employment Services, has so far seen the return of 16,000 Finns in the first year of that agreement,[64] while the effects of Denmark's entry into the EEC and the longer-term effects of Norway's oil discoveries may also affect the movement to Sweden of Danes and Norwegians. The next largest number of immigrants is from West Germany, followed by Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey.

Since World War II, when Sweden took in refugees from her occupied neighbours, Sweden has re-settled a number of refugees from European camps, and increasingly from other parts of the world including American draft-dodgers during the Vietnam War, Chileans following the downfall of the Allende regime, and Christian Syrians from Turkey. Officially, refugees fall into two groups: type "A" or political refugees, and type "B" who are not directly political refugees but who flee for political reasons such as the denial of their rights as a minority group in the country from which they come.[65]

Sweden's land area, the fourth largest in Europe, is 174,000 square miles (450,000 km^2), and there are about 52 inhabitants to the square mile (20 inhabitants/km^2). However, more than ninety percent live in the southern

half,[66] and by 1970 almost eighty percent lived in cities or towns, although many more were born in the rural areas.[67] The rate of population increase this century has been slow, and although more than half the population are women, half of the families which have children have only one, and a further third have two. This is in part accounted for by the decline in marriages and rise in divorces.[68] Of the three million households in Sweden, only ten percent consist of five or more persons, while twenty-five percent consist of only one person.[69]

b. Government

Sweden is a constitutional monarchy and, since 1971, has a unicameral parliament. The king is the Head of State, representing the nation, but has no political power since, although he formally makes decisions, responsibility for them rests with his "Counsellors of State" (Cabinet ministers). The constitution consists of four separate documents, the earliest of which dates back to 1809. While the constitution has been subject to modernisation since the 1950s, a new Instrument of Government and Parliament Act which went into effect in 1975 formally incorporate current practices into the written constitution and place the Parliament Act outside the constitution.

Parliament consists of 349 members who are elected for a three year term. The minimum voting age is now 18 and seats are distributed according to the proportion of votes cast for a party nationally. In addition to 310 fixed constituency seats, 39 are distributed "at large" to obtain a fair, nationally proportional result; a party must obtain at least four percent of the vote to gain a seat, unless it gains twelve percent of the votes in any one constituency. The king formally requests the leader of the party with the largest number of seats to form a government headed by the prime minister, and according to the princples of parliamentarism, the king appoints a Cabinet (currently 20 members), of which 14 are heads of ministries in addition to the Prime Minister. Political power rests with the Cabinet, and ministers need not be members of parliament; if they are, their parliamentary duties are taken over by a substitute and the minister loses his/her right to vote in parliament. The government has the right to dissolve parliament and to order extraordinary elections, which are only valid for the remaining proportion of the regular three year parliamentary term of office. Members cannot introduce a vote of "no-confidence", controversial issues being decided within the debate on the issue in question and, if the government and the parliament agree, a consultative referendum may be taken.

Individual members may introduce motions on any subject during the first 15 days of each parliamentary session, and may introduce amendments to proposed government bills. Most of the discussion of motions and bills takes place in committee, the results being reported to plenary sessions of parliament. Before presentation of bills and motions, the matters are discussed at weekly Cabinet meetings presided over by the prime minister, and depending on the importance of the matter, collective responsibility is exercised by Cabinet or parts thereof for the proposal of matters for consideration as well as for decision-making.

In 1977 there were 14 ministries, which are small units mostly of less than 100 persons whose role is the preparation of government bills, issuing laws and regulations as well as general rules for administrative agencies, international relations, higher appointments in the administration and certain appeals from individuals which have been addressed to the government. All officials of the ministries are appointed by the government and the under-secretary, one of the three highest ministry officials, is appointed by the relevant minister, to whom he/she is responsible.

Commissions of inquiry are set up to investigate and prepare recommendations on all matters of importance for parliament. Members of parliament, representatives of labour and employer organisations or other affected groups and scientific experts sit on the commissions, and any individual or group may make a submission to the commission, so that members of the opposition may influence the outcome before the commission report comes up for parliamentary debate. Once decisions have been made, their carrying out is entrusted to a number of central administrative agencies, each of which is headed by a director general appointed by the government and run by a representative board. The administrative agencies are obliged to co-operate with each other directly, without interference of ministerial bodies, and submit proposals to the government regarding their policy, as well as regarding amendments to laws and regulations decided on by the government and parliament.[70]

In addition to the central agencies, Sweden is divided into three types of municipality: primary, secondary and special. This form of local self-government in its present pattern came into being in 1862. The primary municipalities are of two sorts - civic, of which there are now 278 (kommun) and ecclesiastical parishes (2,500). Local planning, health, welfare, eduction, public works and recreation are the main tasks of the primary municipalities, and their finances come from local taxes, central grants-in-aid and central government subsidies. Their councils are elected directly by all citizens of voting age and, since 1976, including migrants who have been continuously resident in Sweden for the past three years. Municipalities employ their own staff. The secondary municipalities usually comprise a single county and correspond to the field of jurisdiction of a county council (landsting), while the special municipalities are associations of municipalities established in order to take care of certain special administrative tasks. The county council is also elected directly and usually meets once a year to pass its budget.[71]

There are now seven political parties in Sweden: the Moderate, Liberal and Centre (non-socialist bloc), the Social Democratic Labour, Left Party Communists, Worker Party Communists and a small, mainly environmental party which emerged in 1979 to gain two seats in the Stockholm communal elections. The last two are not represented in the national parliament.

c. The Economy

The Swedish economy has shown steady growth in most sectors throughout this century, and particularly following the second world war. Among western European countries, Sweden has the highest growth in the public sector and its share of the gross national product.[72] The volume of total production has risen by an average of 3.6% p.a. since 1950, but although the numbers in gainful employment have increased at between 0.5 and 1% p.a., changes in the work-force and its conditions have led to a small decline in total manpower input, while output has increased. Public consumption has increased steadily, while private consumption has risen moderately.[73] As elsewhere, unemployment is a growing problem with 2% of the labour force (4.3% of the migrant labour force) and 7.9% of youth (16-19: 4.4% of immigrant youth) being unemployed in 1978.[74]

Sweden aims at 80% self-sufficiency in agriculture. In other areas, however, most notably in manufactured imports and in capital, with foreign investment increasing by 400% between 1960 and 1970 and then tapering off to 7% between 1970 and 1973 she has become less self-sufficient.[75] At the same time, capital investment abroad has also risen sharply, with foreign output being 16% of domestic output in 1974 and Swedish manufacturing firms have expanded much more rapidly abroad than at home in recent years. Capital investment as a percentage of GNP has increased since 1950, but in comparison

with many other industrialised countries, the industrial investment shares are not very high. There is variation from industry to industry, reflecting the changing structure of Swedish industry in recent years: iron and steel, pulp and paper, the chemical industry and to some extent engineering have received the greatest concentrations of capital investment, although the last two have also been industries with steadily growing imports. Other structural changes have been the trend to larger and larger units of production, evident from the 1960s, especially in the export industries, so that large plants account for an increasing proportion of industrial employment and many mergers have taken place between smaller firms. There has been increasing capital intensity leading to greater efficiency, and the government has introduced incentives to firms to decentralise and wherever possible adapt production to available labour qualifications in order to provide some cushion against structural unemployment.[76]

About ninety-two percent of industrial employment is in the private sector, with co-operatives and the public enterprise each accounting for four percent. State involvement in industry has taken place largely "to create employment, advance technology, and encourage regional development".[77]

Imports are more diverse than exports, although there is a heavy concentration of trading partners, with EEC member countries together accounting for almost half of Sweden's foreign trade. The developing countries' share of the Swedish market has increased to 13.2% of total imports, although half of these come from the OPEC countries. The most notable imbalances are with Norway, Poland, Canada and Australia, where exports are almost double the value of imports, and Japan and West Germany, where imports are over three times as great as exports from Japan and twice as great from Germany. [78]

Sweden's post-war economy has been characterised by an overall steady rate of growth in GNP, with the most significant increases in the industrial, especially the export, sector. Investment has also increased, including investment in the public sector, where almost forty percent of the workforce is employed. With the growing overseas trade, Sweden has become more dependent on external economic circumstances, which has been partially offset by an expansionary economic policy. Inflation was brought down from fourteen to eight percent in the mid-1970s, and consumer price rises were about the same as in other industrialised countries during 1975-6, the level being to some extent regulated by government intervention especially in the areas of food and housing, and with supplements to low income families. The Swedish balance of payments deficit has steadily increased and the Krona was devalued 15% in 1978. The Swedish economy is clearly based on capitalist, free enterprise lines, despite the role of government and the consumer and producer co-operatives in providing a certain measure of employment, consumer protection and direction in economic development. Her liberal trade policies, despite strong protectionist lobbies at various stages, together with the structural changes in industry, place her increasingly under the influence of international economic trends which, depending on the will and the ability of the government, can be at best partly offset by internal policies and programs.[79]

d. Living Standards and Welfare

While Sweden now enjoys one of the highest standards of living in the world and the spectre of poverty seems largely to have been laid to rest, taxes are also among the highest in the world. Social welfare has been one of the major items on the Social Democratic platform since the formation of the party, and during their 44 years in government they systematically enacted legislation which has made Sweden an outstanding example of the welfare state.

The first National Health Insurance Act was brought down in 1955, and this has now been combined with Basic and National Supplementary Pensions Acts into a single National Insurance Act. All Swedish citizens over the age

of 16 and aliens working and domiciled in Sweden are covered by the Act. The costs are borne by the insured person, his/her employer and state grants (health), the employer and state grants (pension) and the employer and, for the self-employed, their own contributions (supplementary pension). Most forms of benefit and allowance are covered under one of these three insurances, including paramedical care, handicapped, children's and widow's allowances, and workers' compensation. Additionally, most trade unions have a voluntary unemployment insurance scheme for their members and cash labour market support benefits are now available for those who do not belong to an unemployment insurance scheme.[80] It is difficult to escape the conclusion that the Swedish state carries prime responsibility for any form of physical or employment misfortune which may befall its citizens, and although it is possible to be relatively poor in Sweden, it is possible to receive some state help to alleviate this.

Within the welfare state, a particularly Swedish concern is family policy (familjpolitik) which, if the amount of space given to this in newspapers is any indication, is one of the foremost issues in Swedish society. Beginning with assistance to mothers in the 1930s, a more comprehensive plan for family assistance was passed in 1947, laying the foundation for present policies.[81] The basis of this plan was the tax-free child endowment (barn bidrag) and childcare continues to be a vital aspect of the continuing debate about family welfare. While official policy, nudged along by the trade unions, has focussed on issues such as maternity and paternity leave, the six hour working day and provision of day and even evening childcare facilities, at the community level the whole question of children's rights, parental freedom at the cost of children's freedom, education for parenthood, emergency services to assist non-coping parents and the difficulties of children in divorce and re-marriage situations have come to the fore. One of the factors hindering the extension of services in this area has been the lack of trained personnel.[82] The "cult of the child", as it sometimes appears, is an attempt both to redress a balance and to find - or re-discover - at every level a means of social and personal living which takes all parties into account.

The impressive statistics on welfare services have two aspects over and above the official pride in the responsibility which the state has taken in these areas. Firstly, social problems do exist. These include drug abuse, juvenile delinquency, and problems associated with isolation. The latter particularly affects both the young, especially in newer "dormitory" suburbs, the immigrant and the aged, the last group in particular being thrown into relief by the dramatic change from rural to urban dwelling in this generation so that adult offspring often live physically and psychologically miles apart from their elderly parents. Alcoholism has long been a problem in which the state has shown considerable concern, and its association with juvenile crime led to the 1976 decision to ban the sale of medium strength beer, an action which was hailed as a typically Swedish attempted solution, through legislation, to a problem with causes well beyond the reach of legislative control. The second aspect follows from this, namely that in a society in which a meteoric economic and technological progress has occurred in the span of several generations, coupled with far-reaching social changes, and which has been seen to have an "omnipresent psychotherapeutic" approach to life,[83] a deep-seated social and personal malaise exists which is not only not amenable to welfare legislation, but deepens its effects because of the belief in the all-caring benevolence of the state for the solution of its citizen's ills. While the number of welfare recipients has risen almost annually, structural factors exist such that "where the normal income from work is low, social policy reforms have done little to ameliorate this situation".[84]

e. Labour Policy and Organisation

The first labour legislation was enacted in 1928, namely the Collective Agreements Act and the Labour Court Act, although up to that time the government had not intervened in employee-employer affairs. With

the growth of white collar unions, a further act was passed in 1936, the Act of the Right of Association and Collective Bargaining. Two further acts, the Act on Security of Employment (1974) and the Act on Employee Participation in Decision-Making (1977) form the main legislative framework governing labour affairs.

Both employees and employers are highly organised. The two largest organisations are the Confederation of Trade Unions (LO) and the Swedish Employers' Federation (SAF), both of which are organised nationally and include national, affiliated groups. White collar and professional groups are also organised into national unions although their operation is less centralised, and the state has two organs, the National Collective Bargaining Office and, for state-owned enterprise, the Bargaining Organisation of Swedish State-owned Enterprises, for negotiations with employees. Although the unions have the power to bargain collectively, since 1956 SAF and LO have undertaken a series of joint negotiations leading to national agreements which cover the vast majority of blue and white collar workers, including unorganised labour within a particular industry. Once a collective agreement has been reached, both LO and SAF undertake to secure its voluntary adopation at the industry-wide level.

The Collective Agreement Act imposed a peace obligation on the contracting parties over questions of rights under the agreement, so that disputes must be settled by negotiation, arbitration or adjudication, in which case the Labour Court is the only forum, but disputes do not often reach that level. The Basic Agreement of 1938 takes the peace obligation further, so that direct action must not be resorted to before the grievance procedure has been exhausted, and the grievance procedure covers all negotiations except the formation and renewal of a collective agreement, sympathy strikes and the collection of overdue wages. In the case of basically individual grievances, the organisation is favoured so that a case cannot come before the Labour Court until the union presents it, and the union's interpretation of an agreement is favoured. Official mediation is provided in disputes when neither the law nor the agreement in question imposes a peace obligation. This system has led to a high degree of industrial stability, although it is interesting to note that since the lifting of the banning of strikes in the civil service in 1966, a number of actions have occured in that sector. And while the new rules of co-determintion apply to the public as well as the private sector, organisations which have a democratic decision-making process and those which conduct opinion-moulding activity are excepted.

In policy terms, the Swedish government has since 1966 had guidelines for labour market policy: "Its aim is to achieve and maintain full, productive and freely chosen employment."[85] Some major ways in which attempts have been made to carry out this aim include the creation of a public Employment Service; a system of training for the unemployed, those wishing to upgrade qualifications or to re-train (with supplementary allowances paid above unemployment benefits) and, since 1975, an act concerning the general right to educational leave; assistance to industry and individuals to de-centralise and move in search of employment; relief work especially through the creation of jobs in the largely publicly-run building industry; legislation on security of employment, and extension of benefits to immigrants as well as the requirement that employers provide up to 240 hours' paid leave of absence for the learning of the Swedish language.[86]

Swedish labour relations have, in comparison with other industrialised countries, been relatively stable and harmonious. Using the theoretical framework of the institutionalisation of industrial conflict, the actual stability of the Swedish system of joint regulation by centralised employee and employer associations has been examined. Fulcher maintains that this

system "has been undermined by the consequences of worker demands for greater equality and control ... (although) ... inequality and domination do not themselves explain the decline of joint regulation, for it has been argued above that it was the unanticipated consequences of joint regulation, together with the changes in the occupational structure and the dynamics of international competition, which heightened the awareness of inequality and domination, and generated the discontent which lay behind worker demands."[87] The labour movement continues to be strong. One reason given for this is the role of individual membership in such organisations in providing a place for the individual to participate more directly than through the vote in the democratic process.[88] The movement is also increasingly concerned with considerations of the shorter working day, the working environment and better leave conditions. In view of rising unemployment, increasing industrial costs and intensification of capital, there are possibilities for new alignments between government labour policy and employees for the provision of more employment, especially of a part time nature on the one hand, and conflict between both government and employees against employers wishing to keep down costs and increase productivity on the other.

f. Energy, Environment and the Future

Two wide-reaching aspects of Sweden's long period of Social Democratic rule have been the forward-planning approach to government and society and the systematic allocation of resources, both public and private, to research and development activities in most spheres of life. From the economy, for which five year surveys have been drawn up since 1965,[89] to the environment, education and cultural affairs, Sweden's rapid emergence as a modern, industrialised, welfare state has produced not only a mood of self-congratulation but a determined effort to continue to look forward.

A continuation of the supply of energy is a vital aspect of the increased industrial productivity and of the high living standards. While Sweden has had good prospects of hydro-electric power development, she has had to import oil, and as a consequence has increasingly developed nuclear energy. At the time of the international oil crisis, one energy-related royal commission was already in operation, and three others were subsequently established. The debate broke out in full public force in 1974, and in 1975 Prime Minister Palme disclosed new policy measures based on a continuation of the nuclear program but emphasising caution, energy conservation and further research.[90] The new policy, which called for the construction of 13 nuclear power stations, was passed despite the opposition of all but the conservative party, but the debate has continued, with political parties and popular movements, as well as academics, calling for a reduction in nuclear power and consideration of a more low energy based society. The strength of the opposition can be seen in the centrality of the nuclear issue in the 1976 election campaign, in which the leading Centre Party opponent to the increase in nuclear power plants, Thorbjörn Fälldin, gained sufficient seats for his party to be called upon to form the new government under his Prime Ministership. Already under Palme the energy issue had been broadened, especially through the establishment of the Secretariat for Future Studies with its major emphasis on investigation of energy and resource needs and alternatives, and between 1975 and 1978, 370 million crowns had been allocated to energy research.[91] Jamison maintains that the incorporation of the nuclear debate into the parliamentary system and the election process, and the incorporation of energy research and policy into the state's bureaucratic machinery "can be seen, with some over-simplification, as a politicization of energy 'from above'. It illustrates well the effectiveness with which the Swedish ruling groups can mobilize their resources to take on a new social problem."[92]

In recent years, the nuclear power debate became sufficiently crucial and controversial for a referendum to be held on 23 March 1980. Three positions were put to the public: 1: uninhibited development of nuclear power

(supported by the conservatives), 2: continuation of the present program, involving the building of already-planned stations, to be reviewed in 20 years' time (Social Democrats and Liberals) and 3: discontinuation of nuclear power and dismantling of the present stations. After a very heated campaign, in which the environmental party played an increasing role especially in gaining the support of disillusioned Social Democrats, the nation voted as follows:

1: Unqualified yes	:	18.7%
2: Qualified yes	:	39.3%
3: No	:	38.6%
Blank returns	:	3.3%

Of note, over and above the main issues argued in the pre-referendum months, are the fact that the "no" position was the third line of the voting paper (thus giving unqualified yes the "donkey vote"), the amount of money which was spent on the campaign, leading to accusations of unequal time given on television to the three positions, and the effects, yet to be seen, on other nations looking perhaps to Sweden for guidance in their own decision-making. Thus some support was seen to come for the "no" line from the Austrian rejection of nuclear power several weeks earlier. On the other hand, the effects have yet to be seen inter alia on Norway, facing opposition to the development of a controversial hydro-electric scheme in Finnmark (Alto-Kautokeinen) and also within range, should an accident occur, of fallout from one of Sweden's plants.

Another important side of Sweden's industrialisation has been her concern with environmental questions. While the term "bättre miljö" (a better environment) is often heard and applied to many walks of life, from the work or school environment to housing and the neighbourhood, the family and the countryside, governmental concern has focussed on the effects of industrialisation. It was no coincidence that the 1972 UN Environment Conference was held in Sweden, since she had given a lead in the introduction of anti-pollution legislation.[93] In addition to the 1969 legislation, an Act on Products Hazardous to Man or to the Environment was enacted in 1973.[94] This act represents a substantial broadening and tightening of public control over harmful products and provision for redress as well as sanctions, which were also included in the 1969 act. It provides for fines, a maximum one year jail sentence, and/or revocation of manufacturing licences.[95] Public awareness of the environment and of pollution is also apparently high, and concern about the general environment in the face of expanding and de-centralising industry was first expressed legislatively in the 1964 Nature Conservancy Act which has been followed by measures to guard the air, water, forests and recreational areas and protect against excessive noise and waste disposal.[96] The popular movements related to environmental issues have on the whole been localised around specific issues, and members of the movements have been described as "generally, relatively anonymous persons who stand up without the desire for any material compensation."[97] Post-referendum events may well change this in the 1980s.

A major step in the whole field of future planning was the establishment in 1973 of a Secretariat for Future Studies, which is attached to the Cabinet Office and is charged with supplementing and giving a new style to government investigations into planning needs. This task takes on a different character in Sweden from that in countries where futurology, as it emerged as an active task in the 1960s, was initially sponsored by military establishments and subsequently by large industrial interests. With the exception of Holland and France, future studies directly organised by individual states as opposed to private institutions and research organisations have been relatively rare.[98]

Following the first allocation of budgetary funds in 1974, and the circulation of the think-piece "To choose a future" (Att välja framtiden), four main topic study-groups were established: working life in the future, Sweden in the world society, resources and raw materials, and energy and society. The work is carried out in project groups, sometimes located within an existing

research institution, and for each project there is a reference group with representatives from the relevant ministries. The Secretariat itself is responsible to an executive committee appointed by the government and representing all the parties in parliament.[99] In addition to the commissioning of study projects, the Secretariat is responsible for the dissemination of project results and has a role in the stimulation on a broad basis of discussion relating to the results.

Additional future work is being carried out by the Joint Committee for long-term research (Samarbetskommittén för långsiktsmotiverad forskning) which was established in 1974 as part of the work in the area of future studies. Its main task is to consider basic research from a long-term perspective, especially in relationship to human and social development, the relationship of research to that development, the solution or enlightenment of social problems and the building of a desirable future emphasis. It draws on a number of different areas of knowledge and is concerned as well with theoretical and methodological development in these areas.[100] Although the Future Secretariat maintained that Sweden does not possess a planning tradition over broad societal sectors on which the new studies could be built,[101] both the fact of the establishment of the Secretariat and the Committee, and the existence at least of research and development activities in many public and private organisations and authorities, together with the mandate the public sector has had to co-operate in preparing advice for government, made the establishment of the Secretariat and the furtherance of its work a logical step in Sweden's self-understanding of the role of both government in research, and research in government, for the creation of an ever more successful society.

g. Philosophy, Ideology and Worldview

In many ways Sweden is, even today, a highly unified and homogeneous society. This homogeneity has developed over centuries of relative absence of outside invasion in particular, from her geographical isolation and an absence of civil war. Since the sixteenth century Sweden has had a Lutheran State Church which continues to be financed by the citizen's taxes, and while there are a number of small heterogeneous denominations and sects, the influence of the state church has been felt in government and society, especially in the field of education. This closeness led to the comment in the report of an ecumenical team visit to Sweden that: "Does the Church look like it is part of the system? As if it has made its peace with a consumer society? Do those who can't make it in such a society dare to enter? But how can one look or act poor if one is really rich?"[102] And while modern Sweden is seen by outsiders in particular to embody the secular society, the ethic if not the spirit of Protestantism, from the temperance movement to the compulsory teaching of comparative religion in the basic school curriculum, and from the concern with a good earthly order to the half-ashamed references to religious upbringing, is still evident in Sweden today.[103]

Sweden today is still a society in which distinctive social classes exist. Official statistics acknowledge three such classes, simply labelled social groups I, II and III. On most measures that sociologists have devised, from private consumption patterns and participation in "fine culture" to occupation, income and educational level, the three groups can be discerned.[104] In studies of mobility, when an "index of association" between generations is used, "opportunities for upward mobility in Sweden are extremely unequal if we study the inter-generational exchange of personnel between social groups I and III."[105] Mobility between groups I and II, and II and III is closer to expectations if opportunity is equally distributed, although the probability of upward mobility between two social groups "is generally larger than the probability of downward mobility between the same social groups."[106] The differences in mobility between women and men are small, although when classified by husband's occupation rather than father's, there is a tendency for women to be more downwardly mobile than men.[107]

The mobility rate in Sweden "seems to have increased during the last two decades; this holds for both upward and downward mobility."[108] In terms of inter-generational movement between blue and white collar occupations, the mobility rate in Sweden is roughly average when compared with other European countries, although Sweden has the smallest difference between upward and downward mobility.[109] The relationship between the occupation and education of father and son is complicated by the structural changes in the occupational structure of society, and it has been found that the correlation between father's and son's level of education is about the same as that between father's and son's measured intelligence, that is, 0.5.[110] However, the study of under and over achievement in school, using an ability test, a standardised knowledge test and school results, indicates that level of achievement is related to the social background of the students, and to some extent to sex, and in the old school system at least, social background was also a determining factor in the decision to choose an academic line of study at the end of year 6.[111]

The relationships between occupation, income, party-political sympathies and attitudes to social and political issues are complex, with no clear patterns emerging.[112] Himmelstrand and Lindhagen suggest that loyalty to the Social Democratic Party is not explicable in class or social group terms, since: "Present structural changes in Swedish society which to some extent might erode the fundament of the labour movement as a movement may thereby also come to reduce the explanatory power of the effective trade union hypothesis."[113] The effective trade union hypothesis together with the hypothesis that the time in power has made the Social Democrats stand for progressive government and future social rewards seem best to explain loyalty to the party. But the present "ideological resurgence" in Swedish politics appears to be both a matter of "individual ideological consciousness fostered through the media and through active use of leisure time for political and social studies" and to depend on the content, "the issues emerging from the structural strains of Swedish society."[114]

The foregoing analysis of social class and its relationship to the labour movement is substantially echoed in Göran Therborn's Marxist analysis of Sweden as a class society. He shows that the main change in the proportions of working people in the various social classes between 1930 and 1965 has been a large increase in the intermediate layer (from 10 to 28%) and a decrease in the petit bourgeoisie (from 41 to 14%).[115] These two groups are not clearly aligned with either the bourgeoisie or the working class, in part because of the ambiguous position of the higher civil servants and professional people and of the lower level clerical workers in class terms. Therborn considers that the greatest contradiction in the present Swedish political situation is between socialism and capitalism, and that because of the way in which monopoly capitalism has developed there, the only significant anti-monopolistic force is the working class. There is a real difference between classes, and there is basic state support through its bureaucratic apparatus for monopoly capitalism; for the situation to become a revolutionary one, the working class not only needs to gain the support of the intermediate and petit bourgeoise groups, but to have political leadership which can correctly define the major contradictions and on that basis develop a political praxis.[116]

The years of unbroken Social Democratic rule have contributed greatly to - and been enabled by - the philosophical and ideological homogeneity of the Swedish population, coupled with the visible signs of material well-being. Although there are five political parties represented in parliament, the differences between them are not great on most main policy issues. It could be predicted that the ideological resurgence which has been mentioned in the foregoing is taking place over details concerning the further development of social welfare and the ways in which the parties react to the domestic effects of international economic trends and the effects of these on living standards. In 1975 a survey showed that 70% of Swedes found life in Sweden highly congenial,

a rise of 25% from 1973, and that these results held across all social groups, political parties and sexes, with only the 18-24 age group less satisfied.[117] In a decade which could be characterised as the "decade of alternatives" in many developed nations, the search for these is echoed in both public and private life. Publicly, the role of the Secretariat for Future Studies in particular represents the official approach to the systematic examination of the options which the nation has before it. While Swedes in private have developed their own pattern of alternatives to the serious business of earning a living, through increased overseas travel and the "green wave" movement with its emphasis on simple living in closer touch with nature,[118] the suggestion that the future may necessitate an institutionalisation of such a lifestyle was greeted with overwhelming opposition.[119]

It is perhaps in this area of the public-private split that one of the most notable characteristics of modern Swedes can be found. The sober worker, law-abiding and dutiful citizen and comfort-loving urban dweller can be contrasted with the sentimental, lonely, anxious mid-summer reveller out in the countryside. A public litany of concern about "jämlikhet", "solidarität", "terapi", "demokrati", "närhet" (equality, solidarity, therapy, democracy, closeness) seems like both an attempt to convice the individual that that is what is most important and what the benevolent government and its agencies are providing, and that despite private feelings of anxiety, alienation and dissatisfaction, he or she should and can feel otherwise.[120] The satisfied, rational and united surface which most Swedes present to outsiders challenges Anglo-Saxons in particular: Nott writes of social democracy as "a sump of bourgeoise morality",[121] and that: "The Swedish temperament inclines to Puritanism, at least as much as to drunkenness ... People may go on drinking, not at all to drown their sorrows, but to drown their boredom with their material joys, their boredom and perhaps, in such benificent conditions, their sense of mild naughtiness."[122] Scott adds that: "Meeting in defined groups is a national characteristic ... In Sweden there is little spontaneity or improvisation ... The Swedes are a silent people, lost in city life. Their outward dullness, and their inward isolation create in a town like Stockholm a vacuum of human communication ... Swedes shun displaying emotion and hide their feelings in a concealing forest of their own making, only at times do they escape, in sheer exasperation, mostly through drink."[123] While it is obviously difficult to characterise a nation in simple terms on the basis of individual reactions to it, there is a consistency in Anglo-Saxon reactions to Sweden, and similar comments, often of a more despairing nature, are heard from immigrants. The effects of both history and geography, especially the winter-summer light contrasts, cannot be denied, even if the foreigner cannot immediately see why this should create such a perverse rationality and reliance on experts in public life, and irrationality in private life. Even in the oft-quoted "popular movements", from the orderly annual environmentalist bicycle demonstration through the streets of Stockholm to the picketting of an endangered archaeological site, there appears a stamp of deliberation, planning and lack of passion, of obligation and order, which seems to link them to existing institutionalised procedures which they are extending rather than opposing. Press freedom and the linkage of most newspapers with a political party, the monopoly of a state instrumentality of radio and television, state support for culture, especially book production, and even the institutionalisation of individual-state conflict through the system of ombudsmen all signify the responsibility of the state or a bureaucracy - or the irresponsibility of the citizen - for increasing areas of life. A particularly Swedish word, "lagom", sums up at least the public view: not too much, and not too little, but exactly right.

h. Foreign Affairs: Sweden and the World

Sweden's basic position in international affairs is one of neutrality and non-alignment. She has not been officially involved in a war since 1814 and is not party to any military or political alliances. Her decision not to join Norway and Denmark in NATO was influenced in particular by her closeness to Finland and her desire to assist Finland to maintain independence and develop a more neutral policy. This non-alignment has enabled Sweden to play an active role in the United Nations, and she has provided troops for the UN's peace-keeping operations in the Middle East, Cyprus and the Congo. She is also a member of the Organisation for Economic Development and Co-operation (OECD), was a founding member of the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) in 1969, and has been a member of the five-country Nordic Council since 1954.

Two consequences of Sweden's non-alignment have been her public condemnation of aggression by one state against another, in particular of the USA's intervention in Vietnam and the USSR's intervention in Czechoslovakia, and her own strong defence policy. Sweden's three, integrated forces are well armed and trained, with 4% of the budget being devoted to defence, and all men between the ages of 18 and 47 are eligible for military service, with 10-12 months' initial training and three subsequent refresher courses being undertaken. Conscientious objectors are employed in civilian projects for their service period, providing additional workers in such fields as child-care and assistance to voluntary agencies like the Red Cross.[124]

Sweden's perception of the world can be described as three circles in which the first includes the Nordic countries, the second Europe, and the third the world. In terms of wealth, population and power, she is the strongest partner in the Nordic group, beyond that, she sees herself as a small, independent nation that can influence more by example than power. This position is summed up in the communiqué issued at the time of the release of the paper Att välja framtid ("To choose the future"):

> ... en fråga, some aktualiserats, gäller sålunda de möjligheter ett litet land som Sverige har att själv bestämma sin framtid i en värld med ständigt växande inflytande för stormakterna och de multinationella företagen ... ett viktigt och nödvändigt medel blir att vi själva studerar framtiden, för oss och för var omvärld, och gör det utifran demokratiska målsättningar och med uttalade krav på internationell solidaritet. På så vis kan den lilla staten skapa opinion för andra möjliga alternativ om hur framtidens värld bör vara beskaffad.[125]

Tage Erlander, Social Democratic leader from 1946-1968, wrote that: "The growing feelings of solidarity and responsibility across borders is an expression of a deepened desire for peace, freedom and prosperity which is not an exclusive national affair but something more universal and individual."[126] This outlook has continued to form the basis of Sweden's international policies generally, and in particular, her policies towards the developing countries.[127]

During the Prime Ministership of Olof Palme (1969-1976), Sweden's European profile took on a political as well as an economic character, an attempted leadership by demonstration. Palme became an outstanding proponent of solidarity between peoples, and of social justice. Within Europe, he was active amongst the leaders of other social democratic parties, spurred on by the urgency of the economic situation and by the reactionary elements visible in Western European politics. For example, unlike his West German and Austrian colleagues, he urged participation of the social democrats in an open

ideological debate with communists.[128] He called for an examination of the possibilities for working together over boundaries, ideological as well as national, especially through solidarity between workers' movements. In a series of exchanges with West Germany's Willy Brandt and Austria's Bruno Kreisky, he said: "The Social Democrats of Europe should see it as their task to rally the people around an alternative to private capitalism and a bureaucratic state capitalism of the Stalinistic type; they represent the radical, progressive tradition in Europe, a human liberal socialism."[129] He went on to outline an eleven point programme for an "uncompromisingly democratic" socialism. His ability then to command a clear though declining majority of seats for his party in parliament, enabled Palme to see the role of Swedish social democracy as one of example and leadership in Europe. Following the televising of the discussions with Brandt and Kreisky, the editorial of the leading daily independent newspaper, Dagens Nyheter, counselled Palme that: "Western Europe's social democratic parties and leaders do not in fact recognise the deep solidarity with the poor countries that Palme himself so often talks about. If he will stand free in the world, he should not tie himself too much to Europe."[130]

And in fact Sweden has looked increasingly beyond Europe. Three main elements are evident in Sweden's policies towards the developing countries: strong support for the United Nations, backed up by the channelling of almost 40% of her foreign aid through multilateral organisations;[131] a forward-looking policy of bilateral aid-giving which has placed Sweden in a leading position among developed countries,[132] and less importantly, the admission of limited numbers of people from developing countries into Sweden. These fall into three groups: foreign students, mainly for specialised short-term courses, together with a bilateral scholarship program with four Latin American countries,[133] immigrants and refugees.

The precursor to Swedish International Development Authority (SIDA), the Swedish Agency for International Assistance (NIB), was established in 1962. SIDA is a central administrative agency under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. There has been, since 1970, a Development Co-operation Department within the Ministry which advises the government and Minister concerning decisions to come before parliament and administers Swedish contributions to UN programs. SIDA has a Director-General, a board of directors and a management committee, and was organised into ten divisions and nine development assistance offices abroad.[134] In 1975 the government decided to set up a Committee on Development Research (research had been one of SIDA's divisions) and during the autumn of 1975 the Swedish Agency for Research Co-operation with Developing Countries (SAREC) came into being.[135] The broad guidelines for Swedish development assistance policy were stated, in 1972, as: "The guiding principle of Swedish international development assistance is the recognition that planning, implementation, and evaluation of development programmes and projects are primarily the concern and responsibility of the developing country itself. Swedish assistance is country-oriented inasmuch as it proceeds from the needs, objectives and priorities of the recipient country. Swedish contributions are based on specific requests for development assistance submitted through the established official channel."[136]

Certain developments in Swedish aid policy were elucidated in the 1977/8: 135 Government Bill and in the findings of the Commission for the Review of Sweden's international Development Cooperation, which was to review general aspects of Sweden's development assistance as well as information about developing countries and the organisation of development assistance administration. A bill on these issues was presented in February 1979. While no major changes were recommended, a broader base for development co-operation was established, taking into account national and international questions of trade, flow of resources, the activities of the transnational corporations, science and technology, the use of the seas and export credits. Further, the

increasing trade between Sweden and the third world, and the movement of Swedish firms abroad received attention, emphasising that, within a United Nations and Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development framework, which Sweden has promoted for the forming of development assistance policies, attention to domestic issues and national interests continue to be important aspects of Sweden's (and of course other nations') policies.[137]

While there are no real differences between the political parties in their approach to development assistance, it has been noted that each of their policies closely approximates their own "variant of Utopia". There is a general acceptance of the need for long-term planning, although current domestic concerns such as equality, solidarity, wage policy, socio-economic balance and environmental projection are echoed in development policies.[138] The complexity of development, the need to mobilise whole populations for national developmental efforts, and especially priority for education, employment, and the needs of women and children are recognised in Swedish aid thinking,[139] reflecting Swedish domestic concerns, some UN approaches, and Swedish objectives to spread to others their view of the good life. Justice and international solidarity form a strong part of the rhetoric of development assistance in Sweden, and in the early 1970s new focus was given to policies through the decision to narrow development efforts to a small number of countries which, to some extent at least, could be seen to "pursue policies of independence and social and economic justice."[140] Between 60 and 70% of bilateral assistance has been distributed to ten countries, and additional allocations have been made to liberation movements in Southern Africa.[141] The actual selection of the countries for emphasis has raised some controversy, leading to the dropping of Pakistan from the list (one spokesperson likened the situation in Ethiopia, India and Pakistan at the end of the 1960s to Hans Christian Andersen's child who refused to recognise the emperor's new clothes[142]) and considerable debate in the mid 1970s over the support for Cuba as that country became more active in Africa. There has also been debate over the types of project preferred, especially the implications of fulsome support for family planning programs,[143] and the limitations of community development work.[144] The Swedish emphasis on planning, experts and bureaucracy has also been criticised or viewed with caution, especially following the release of the Jackson report on the bureaucratic problems of the UN.[145]

The formation of SIDA, one of the first governmental development assistance authorities to come into existence, and more recently the separation of the research function, emphasise the professionalisation and the distinctively Swedish imprimateur on her development assistance. Research has come to play a larger and larger part of this assistance, with three major aspects to it: assistance to developing countries to undertake research into their own problems and to international research programs, assistance for the education of scientists and the publication of scientific results in developing countries, and assistance to Swedish researchers undertaking both independent research into development questions and research related to Sweden's development assistance program.[146] This new activity does not include money already being spent through normal university research allocations for work being undertaken of relevance to questions of development, although it is to be assumed that SAREC will become the major channel for such funds in the future. Michanek, the former Director-Genral of SIDA, stated in 1970 that "research is a method of working which must be stressed in every area" [forskning är en arbetsmetod, som måste betonas på alla ämnesområden].[147] This emphasis on research has led one critic to comment that, owing to the "uncomplicated empiricism which characterises Swedish social research" [den okomplicerade empiricism som kännetecknar svensk samhällsforskning],[148] conclusions such as the need to change the attitudes of the leaders in developing countries towards increasing the participation of local people in development activities, rather than changing the leaders and letting the people have more power, are the inevitable outcome.[149]

Education plays an important role in Sweden's approach to development issues. In addition to the inclusion of educational projects in the assistance program, Swedes who go into the field are doubly trained. Firstly, whether they are "experts" or "volunteers", a good professional training and even for the latter, at least two years' work experience, is required.[150] Selection, especially of experts, attempts to weed out those with ignorance of conditions in developing countries or with over-zealous attitudes towards "swedising" the people with whom they will be working.[151] Uppsala university has provided a special course, and this may be taken by correspondence by workers in the field; since 1971, folk high schools offer a development line and since 1969 there has been a voluntary course with fieldwork supported by SIDA and the Board of Education.[152] These courses are not mandatory for experts or volunteers, and SIDA organises its own training of eight weeks for volunteers, which includes general orientation, intensive English or French and an introduction to the country of destination, together with a short orientation period on arrival,[153] and three weeks, excluding language, for experts.[154] Lindholm, in a study of experts and volunteers in the field, found that roughly 50% were dissatisfied with their training in one way or another, and that this dissatisfaction was related to their own motivation and level of preparation when they came to the course,[155] and their attitude to compulsory language learning, in itself related to a larger complex of attitudes towards developing countries and development work. The whole question of satisfaction with the job is itself intimately related to this complex.[156]

Education of the Swedish public about development issues and policies is another important aspect of both official and voluntary assistance programs. "It is incumbent that the citizen is convinced that we, not only for moral and democratic reasons, but also for the sake of domestic and international peace, must cause groups with increasing consumption demands to be subordinated to the immediate needs of poorer groups and nations ... In the question of what Sweden, private organizations, private consumers, and the citizenry can and should do or adapt to in a global resource distribution perspective, it is desirable that different points of view are heard."[157] Thus, in 1972 the parliament decreed that the popular movements would receive assistance to raise the issue of developing countries and resource distribution. The information budget has risen steadily from that time, as has the number of organsiations receiving support. Three main categories of information activity may be discerned: those initiated and executed by SIDA (basic material, films, the magazine "Rapport"[158]); co-operative ventures with other groups and organisations (especially seminars and consultations and including contact with those groups, of which around 50% are church-affiliated, through which SIDA supports development assistance projects[159]), and grants to organisations for their own activities. Initially, two main groups were supported: "study societies" which include adult education, church groups and other non-formal educational associations, and trade unions. This work has now been extended to include the information activities of the UN, the World Bank and the Nordic Co-operative Group, the mass media (press service, grants for travel and special projects and courses for journalists), work with teachers and school authorities (material for teacher pre- and in-service training, annual seminars to developing countries, teaching material, and films and videos especially for use in the folk high schools), in institutions of higher education (scholarships, research grants and finance for guest lecturers and researchers from developing countries), the popular movements (course and discussion material, seminars and study-trips) and miscellaneous NGOs including professional groups, religious groups, Amnesty, the UN Association and committees (solidarity groups) focussing on a particular country (76 such groups received support in 1975/6 totalling 1,300,000 crowns).[160]

The organisations meet annually to consult with SIDA, are invited to make representation to Royal Commissions investigating Sweden's development assistance,[161] to make use of SIDA's bibliographical service and to participate in seminars on special topics. As this emphasis on information has occurred

since Lindholm's study of Swedish opinion about and knowledge of development issues,[162] it would be interesting to see if there have been substantial changes in the last eight years. Gabler, who is one of the many non-Swedes who look with some envy at SIDA's policies in general, and in support of NGO activity in particular, considers that Sweden has reached Lindholm's second of four stages, that is, between a sympathy-motivated willingness to give assistance, and active participation in development politics.[163]

Explanations for Sweden's particular performance in development assistance seem to be found in several inter-related factors. The first is to be found in Sweden's neutrality, which has drawn her to other nations wishing to maintain an independent stance in the world and to promulgate the idea of an inter-dependent world characterised by certain values such as prosperity and justice. The second is also related to values, in particular the concept of solidarity which is high on the public list of important principles for living, and development assistance is seen to be a concrete expression of that solidarity. It could be said in parenthesis that solidarity expressed through aid is a rational and relatively comfortable way of doing something about poverty abroad, since despite Swedish pride in lack of racial prejudice, outsiders are less sure about the reality of this.[164] There is further a reflection of general trends in Swedish national life, namely the rationality and thoroughness which is applied to the identification and treatment of "problems". The research and evaluation which has gone into Swedish development assistance is outstanding amongst developed countries, and is as much a matter of pride to Swedes, one suspects, as was their reaching of the UN 0.7% of GNP aid target in 1974, ahead of all other countries. This has led to the comment, however, that: "Bei einer genaureren Betrachtung der Entwicklungshilfe-politik Schwedens bekommt man den Eindruck, dass auch hier die zuvor beschriebene Einstellung des "Politik ist Arbeit" vorherrscht und dass es sich um eine Arbeit der Elite ohne grosse Partizipation der Bevölkerung handelt."[165] This possibility is echoed in SIDA's concern to try to reach those groups which appear to have no interest for development questions.[166] Finally, as in other countries, developent assistance is closely related to foreign policy in general and can be seen in particular in the types of projects and countries which Sweden supports. Sweden takes this one step further insofar as she sees a specific tie between domestic and foreign policy. This tie is seen in the binding together of donor and recipient in the pursuit of common aims, including social, political and economic ones, and is thus both a re-affirmation of Swedish goals and values and a way to bring about a future elsewhere which reflects the Swedish image of that future.[167]

2. INTERNAL FACTORS

Thus it can be seen that Swedish society today has some key features which are evident both in domestic and foreign policy in the public sphere, and in its cultural life. These include attempts to ensure a decision-making process which is widely representative within a nevertheless centralised bureaucratic framework, a reliance on research to provide the basis for policy-making and for its implementation leading at least to the appearance of a highly rational social steering, and a reliance on experts for the validation of decisions and on government to take important initiatives in all spheres of life. At another level, notions such as solidarity, applied first to the Swedish population and extended beyond national boundaries, is the main ideological thrust, and can also be seen to some extent to underlie concepts of the use and conservation of nature and resources, both now and in the future. It is a society that considers the future, and while Palme's visions of leadership and demonstration by example of the prosperity and rationality of that future may not be shared by all Swedes today, the idea that the future is there to be invented by man is an underlying motivation which contrasts only with the privatised despair which some Swedes exhibit in their own lives.

Since there appears to be a high level of consistency in various aspects of public life in Sweden, and since education has been considered to be an important part of Sweden's life and overall development, the first part of this paper has been devoted to outlining the background to and nature of that society, with particular attention to those facets which are echoed in or particularly influential on education. The following deals with a brief outline of Sweden's educational system, and with the higher educational system and the internationalisation program in particular.

A. The Swedish Educational System

Educational reform has a long history in Sweden. For many centuries education was in the hands of the clergy and appropriately, the first university was founded at the episcopal seat, Uppsala, in 1477. Gustav II Adolph's new form of central government required an educated class, and a large sum of money was donated to Uppsala University during his reign. A new form of school, the gymnasium, was established at Västerås in 1623, with graduate teachers offering classics, Hebrew, theology, history and mathematics to university level.[168] The Academy of Sciences was founded in 1739.[169] Perhaps the most important event was the 1826 School Commission, which recommended that every parish should have its elementary school. Parents were responsible for sending their children to school, and training colleges were set up to guarantee that teachers were adequately prepared. This laid the basis for the Education Bill of 1842, which made Sweden one of the earliest nations to make schooling compulsory.[170]

B. Education and the Social Democrats

From its foundation in the late nineteenth century, education has played a role in Social Democratic Party policy. The labour movement itself has maintained a concern for education, especially for its members, some of the first trade unions evolved out of workers' study groups, and from the 1880s a number of Workers' Institutes were established. Folk high schools, which were brought to Sweden from Denmark, also appeared in the second half of the nineteenth century, and the Temperance and Free Church movements, the former in particular with a close alliance with the labour movement, stressed the importance of education and established educational programs.[171]

Public middle schools (mellanskola, later called realskola) were established in 1909. While the School Reform Bill of 1927 was enacted under Liberal leadership, and the Bill not only linked the mellanskola with the primary schools (folkskola) but also made most of the formally private girls' schools a communal responsibility, the work of the Social Democrats in the educational field was making its mark on government policy. By the start of the twentieth century Sweden was able to claim almost universal literacy, and the sale of books and newspapers increased rapidly.[172] While the Social Democrats focussed on social welfare reforms during the 1930s and 1940s, since then their attention has turned more and more to education. The committee work underlying the reorganisation of education began in 1940, and in 1945 the first phase of the work was completed, which resulted in the raising of the compulsory basic education from seven to nine years in 1950.[173] A School Commission was set up in 1946 to implement the committee's recommendations, and another committee was set up in 1957 to look in particular at the issues of junior secondary versus nine-year comprehensive education and of streaming and specialisation.[174] Specialisation after year 4 was abolished in experimental schools in the early 1950s, although the division of upper secondary education into the basic academic school (gymnasium) and technical/vocational school (yrkesskola) continued. The implications of organisation and curricular changes in the grundskola (primary and junior secondary) for upper secondary education were foreshadowed in the work of the 1957 School Committee, and on the basis

of its 1961 report, another Committee, already set up in 1960, began to investigate the changes needed at the upper secondary level.[175] These deliberations led finally to the establishment of a nine-year comprehensive basic education in 1969 (Lgr.69) and an integrated upper secondary school with three major sectors (arts/social science, economics and commerce, sciences and technology) and a choice of two or three year "lines" (a four year line is also available in science and technology), the gymnasieskola, which came into effect in the 1971/2 school year (Lgy.70).[176]

School begins at age 7. The right to one year of pre-school education was established by parliament in 1973, through enjoining all municipalities to provide pre-schools for all children of age 6, but it is not part of primary education.[177] After compulsory schooling, by 1970 almost half of the young people between the ages of 17 and 20 were in secondary or trade schools (fackskola) and now almost 90% continue on to some form of post-compulsory education.[178] Adults are being encouraged to attend the gymnasieskolor and another percentage go to the folk high schools (folkhögskola) which are generally residential and concentrate on vocational preparation and liberal arts. There are 105 such schools.[179] Some of these are run by the popular movements, and adult education is also furthered by the courses and study circles run by these movements.

a. Organisation and Government of Education

At the macro level, all forms of education in Sweden are the responsibility of the Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs, with the minor exception of a handful of private schools. Below the Ministry, the National Swedish Board of Education (Kungl. Skolöverstyrelse) is in charge of primary and secondary schools, nautical and nursing training, teacher training, secondary education in agriculture and forestry, labour market training and special schools for the mentally retarded, as well as state and municipal adult education, nomad, special, folk and private schools. Pre-school education is largely in the hands of the Ministry of Health and Social Affairs through its National Board of Health and Welfare, and post-secondary education (universities and högskolor) has been under the Office of the Chancellor of the Swedish Universities (Universitetskanslersämbetet). Regional planning, co-ordination, administration, inspection and to some extent in-service teacher training is the responsibility of the county school board, while the local education board bears the immediate responsibility for a municipality's educational system. Both these boards consist of elected members including representatives of the National Board, the county/local council and representatives of employers and employees in the area. At the micro level, the comprehensive schools have a teaching staff council (all staff with duties of 10 hours or more per week), a class conference (headmaster and teachers working at a particular level) and a subject conference. The upper secondary schools have, in addition, a co-operation council (headmaster, two teachers, two pupils and two other members) and a library committee (which also includes two pupils). Some adult education is state run, the rest being the responsibility of the municipality or, in the case of folk high schools, an independent council.[180]

b. Finance and Direction

The National Board's main task is to look after the development of contents and methods (with the exception of the folk high schools which are individually responsible for the curriculum), to provide planning and co-ordination of the school system including capacity and location of schools, to promote pedagogical research and development, and to ensure that the available resources are effectively used.[181] The central government bears the major financial burden, either directly or through grants to municipalities. While education is free, including a mid-day meal, assistance is also given to

families through the subsidisation of pre-school child-care (payment for this is means-graduated), and the barn bidrag (child endowment) for children up to the age of 16, and direct allowances to children who remain at school after the age of 16. At the age of 20, students qualify for state grants and loans.[182] About 24% of GDP (18% of GNP) is spent on education.

c. Curriculum and Pedagogy

An outstanding feature of Swedish education is the systematic instigation of educational research and its incorporation into the educational system. This is particularly so since the 1969-70 reforms, when reform was placed on a "rolling" basis so that changes are incorporated as research recommendations and adopted by the government. In this way, the curriculum for all education up to the teacher training level is uniform, so much so that it was found necessary to include a "free space" in the timetable although even in this, a manual of ideas for teachers has been centrally prepared.[183] There is no clear line of demarcation between research and educational development, so that "care must always be taken to secure competent scientific leadership of projects and sub-projects connected with research. The behavioural-scientific research sponsored by the Board at the education institutes of the schools of education and at the university institutions which are also enlisted to a certain extent can I think be said to maintain a high international standard in this respect. The object of educational research and development is to improve the knowledge available for the implementation of political decisions concerning the school system. But it is also natural for this work to include the testing and critical appraisal of different aspects of objectives and methods and their relation to the overall objectives."[184]

It is stated that the purpose of the strict central steering of Swedish school education is "to create uniformity and achieve parity of standards throughout the country."[185] To this may be added the frank comment by one National Board Advisor that "teachers are lazy until proven otherwise, and therefore a lot of research and development is necessary to overcome teacher inadequacies."[186] The "steering" extends to the ways in which marks and results are standardised across the country, and also to pedagogy. While it is stated that pupil-teacher relationships are characterised by openness and naturalness,[187] the parliament decided in 1976, on the basis of the recommendations of a special commission set up in 1970, that further measures should be taken to facilitate the adjustment of school work to the individual students.[188] The major direction that this work has taken has been pre- and in-service work with teachers and the special training of headmasters and directors of studies to acquaint them with new teaching methods, with special emphasis on co-operative working methods within the school and between school and community.[189] Amongst academics at least there is also a growing debate about pedagogy, with mediated (largely traditional) pedagogy, free pedagogy and dialogic pedagogy the main alternatives under discussion.[190]

d. Organisations, Pressure Groups and Dissent

As with other aspects of Swedish life, "wherever three or four Swedes get together they form a club or society, draw up a set of rules and a program, and affiliate themselves to a national federation - if there is one, if not, they form one themselves."[191] Teachers are organised into a union, which has tended to be pre-occupied with working conditions. One commentator suggests that both through the union and through the institutionalised discussion days and in-service courses, teachers can and should attempt to initiate discussions on the nature, quality and problems of education and if these do not bear fruit, to form study circles of their own.[192] Parents also have a parent-teacher organisation with over 1,600 branches and usually based on an individual school, which began as an instrument for parental communication with the school, allows student participation as well, and is focussed on the class conference, a regular meeting in addition to the termly parent-teacher meetings. In addition,

several general meetings are held a year, to hear a lecture or discuss more general issues.[193] With the well-organised and centralised research and development activities, it is difficult to see either teachers or parents as active lobbyists or pressure groups, and at the pre-tertiary level the greatest effect of student organisation has been at the local school level. It is more likely that the high level of educational spending, the centrality of education to the Social Democratic platform in particular, and the respect for education which is a characteristic of Swedish society channels much of the educational debate into discussion within political parties.

Swedes are not uniformly happy about their educational system. Discussions with individual teachers indicate feelings of inadequacy over the new directions in pupil-teacher contact in particular, and since Sweden is one developed country which does not currently have an over-supply of teachers, the most frequent expression of dissatisfaction is for teachers to leave the service. There is a lot of media space given to debate about education, often stimulated by academics, and as the effects of the 1969-70 reforms are beginning to be felt in the schools, there have been a number of critical publications on education. These focus on "necessary changes" in the system of mark allocation, the preparation of teachers, the interpretation of the syllabus, the detailed organisation of the school and cushioning the heavy bureaucratic role of the National Board.[194] More generally, criticisms are of the school as an agency for adjusting individuals to the social status quo,[195] preparing individuals for work with the appropriate values, attitudes and behaviour for future producers, consumers, family members and citizens sorted into appropriate occupational slots.[196]

Torsten Husén says that by 1972 a "school crisis" had been admitted.[197] He maintains a basically optimistic posture, placing his hopes on the changes in pedagogy so that the school can move closer to society, both breaking down isolation and the effects of educational bureaucratisation and mass education.[198] Earlier, however, he showed considerable concern over the nature of the influence of the school and its declining influence amongst young people, as well as the effects on them of the ever-increasing exposure to education. The school can continue its isolation, or it can give teenagers "the opportunity to take part in meaningful tasks where they are made to feel productive in the broad sense and to play pertinent roles in the adult community."[199] And further, "the school must try to exploit the wealth of information that exists in other public agencies and institutions and turn it to useful account ... the important thing is for the school to take systematic advantage of the competence and expertise to be found outside the school."[200] These are obviously challenges and problems which are not unique to Swedish education, and through internationally known educators such as Husén and Marklund, are couched in a rhetoric which is becoming international.

The Swedish concern with creating equality through education, which Husén now admits requires a more sophisticated interpretation,[201] continues. Despite broadening of educational opportunity, equal outcomes in terms of educational choice and mobility, have not followed,[202] a cause for soul-searching amongst some Swedish educators.

The attention of many other developed countries was focussed on Swedish education during the 1960s, both as comprehensive secondary education came into fashion and as an example of the effects of systematic and centralised research and development on educational reform. Marklund has indicated in some detail the extent to which international research in education has had a small but significant influence on research in education in Sweden.[203] The International Association for Achievement in Education Project, so closely linked with Husén and based on Stockholm University's Institute for International Education of which he has been the professor, has brought some increase of interest for Swedish educational researchers in American research in particular. The challenge to Swedish education is

to adapt to whatever future expectations "we dare to entertain" [Svaret beror givetvis - handen på hjärtat - pa vilka förväntningar vi vågar hysa för framtiden.][204]

C. Higher Education

A period of expansion in higher education took place during the nineteenth century with strong German influence on its nature and direction, and in technical fields in particular the number of trained persons exceeded the absorptive capacity of the labour market.[205] During the nineteenth century university colleges were established in Stockholm and Göteborg, which gained their independent charters in the present century; there was then a long gap until Umeå University was founded in the north in 1963. Subsequently, a university was established in Linköping, and university colleges have also been founded in Orebro, Växsjö and Karlstad.[206] There are in addition a number of colleges of teacher education, nursing education, and specialised institutes for agriculture, forestry, business and commerce, technology and medicine. Student numbers have grown enormously in the past 25 years: in 1950 there were approximately 15,000 students in higher educational institutions, which had grown to 120,000 in 1970,[207] and the proportion of the relevant age group that was qualified to enter higher education rose from 1 out of 11 in 1955 to 1 out of every 3 in 1975.[208]

a. Reforms in Higher Education

In 1968 the government appointed a commission, which has come to be known as U-68, to examine higher education. Its main report was published in 1973 and contained proposals on the future organisational structure, size and location of higher educational facilities. The report was then submitted to a parliamentary drafting committee and their legislative proposals were presented to parliament in 1975. Following the abolition of the studentexam in 1968 (matriculation), a second commission was appointed to make recommendations concerning admission policy in higher education.[209] The U-68 recommendations covered the aims, governance, scope, access to and structure of higher education and came into force in the 1977/78 academic year.

While five broad general social aims are outlined in the 1968 reforms (personal development, improved welfare standards, democracy, internationalisation and social change[210]), the main aim is economic. "För den högre utbildningens roll i samhällsutvecklingen är en problemorientiering av utbildningen i fråga om innehall och verksamhetsformer av central betydelse ... Utbildning och arbetsmarknad är ömsesidigt beroende av varandra: samtidigt som bl. a. den högre utbildningen måste syfta till att tillgodose samhällets behov av kvalificerad arbetskraft, anpasses delvis arbetsmarknadens krav efter tillgången på utbildade och deras inriktning ... Det är tydligt att de senaste årens sviktande tillströmning till högre utbildning hänger samman med en obalans mellan utbildningens inriktning och efterfrågan på utbildning på arbetsmarknaden."[211]

Quantitative development of higher education is to be based on both the needs of the individual and of the work situation, to be determined on an annual basis starting with an anticipated 2% increase per annum in the first five years after the reforms came into being.[212]

Three major structural changes are made in the reform. A new central authority, the National Office of Universities and Colleges (UHÄ), under the Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs, has replaced the Office of the Chancellor of the Swedish Universities and that for the Colleges, and while some institutions remain the prime responsibility of local authorities, the new central office has a role in planning in conjunction with them. A new regional level of administration has been introduced, with the whole of higher education divided into six regional units each based on a university city, to co-ordinate and develop undergraduate and professional/vocational educational

institutions in the region and to establish links between these. At the local level, some institutions have been merged, and new educational program committees have been established within the vocational training sectors as well as faculties to be responsible for research and graduate education. The departmental structure is maintained, which has grown in power over instruction and research in recent years.[213] Secondly, eleven centres for higher education are being developed in addition to the present ten. In most cases, these new centres already have some form of higher educational institution. Further, certain limited types of instruction will be made available in other areas in collaboration with, for example, private adult education associations.[214] Thirdly, the whole basis for higher education is broader through the integration of various types of institution, the new admissions policy which gives all students with two or three years of secondary education, or who are at least 25 years old and have had four years of work experience and have reached a certain standard in English, access to higher education, and the development of new, vocational courses at the tertiary level.

The old faculty structure is being abolished through the development of five tertiary educational sectors: technology; administration, economics and social work; medicine and paramedical work; teaching, and cultural work and information. Despite the attempt to make tertiary education more available, through evening courses and the distinction between "short" and "long" (equivalent to full and part time) routes to a given qualification, opportunities to defer for work experience and so on, the provision exists for the imposition of quotas if applicants exceed anticipated places, especially in the humanities and social sciences.[215] Further, although the reforms are also directed at bringing about a closer relationship between teaching and research, the main changes in the examination system for research workers and in the relationship between the research competence of university teachers and their pedagogical development were brought about in new recommendations in 1967 and receive little attention in the 1975 ones.[216] The re-organisation of research itself is being brought about by the 1975 reforms, and the UKÄ budget request for 1977/8 emphasised the need for particular fields of study and research, including general and employment oriented student advisory services, in order to assist students to choose fields of study and ways of relating research to their working careers which will in the long run ensure a better coupling of research, training and experience. There is also to be development of courses in the area of psychotherapy.[217]

b. <u>The Democratisation of Higher Education</u>

The importance of educational policy to the Social Democratic platform has ensured a steady development of educational opportunity and the 1975 reforms are considered an important point in making higher education more freely available, while at the same time attempting to ensure that that education is related to both the needs of the labour market and of individuals for jobs. While the relationship between level of education and income, and inter-generational-mobility and income is relatively high, especially when corrected for cost-of-education and subsequent taxation,[218] and while one of the aims of the 1975 reforms has been to broaden the base of higher education, it is still necessary for students to fulfil educational pre-requisites in certain areas which just happen to include the higher-income professions.[219] Further, choice of educational line as well as length of formal education is still linked to parental status[220] which indicates that despite mass education in Sweden, democratisation still falls short of full realisation. And further, in a qualification-oriented society, it remains to be seen how the labour market will react to the products of the new system, especially the special and shortened courses which constitute a new category.[221]

A second aspect of democratisation is also related to certain aspects of Social Democratic ideals, namely the democratisation of decision-making. Although the new reforms are intended to de-centralise bureaucratic

decision-making while retaining strong central control, the overall framework in which Swedish education - together with other major social institutions - operate, ensures a high level of decision-making from above. Thus, for example, basic decisions concerning changes in the main sectors of higher education and the development of lines within them remains a matter for parliamentary sanction.[222] The framework for the development of courses, including the standardisation of the examination system, is also centrally determined: a full year's course is worth a maximum of 40 points, a course of one week's duration at the conclusion of which a paper is presented for assessment is usually worth one point. While institutions have a certain freedom to determine the form of assessment there is in general a de-emphasising of the use of examinations for this purpose. The major stages of progress through a course are thus generally assessed on written submissions and three grades of result are available: fail, pass and pass with merit.[223] Within this framework, students and staff are represented on bodies determining the details of courses but the powerful departmental hierarchy retains its legitimating role.

Within the staffing structure of higher education it should also be mentioned that there are very few fully tenured positions, so that many departments consist of a professor and about half a dozen senior staff, many of whom will be "tjänstledig" (free for other duties) either within the institution but working on full-time research or on secondment to ministries or agencies, and a much larger number of junior staff whose access to employment depends on student numbers and the beneficence of research grants to more senior staff who employ them as research assistants. Further, there is under-representation of females in higher education, especially in post-graduate education, despite the availability of repayable study loans and increased facilities for part-time study.[224]

c. Research

Research and Development (R & D) in Sweden is considered to be a "coherent system" with four sub-systems: universities and colleges; the research council organisation (since 1977 this is put within three groups: humanities and social sciences, medical, and natural science, and the parallel co-ordinating authority the Council for Planning and Co-ordination of Research); sectorial, that is, public authorities, and business.[225] Research policy in general is decided upon by parliament, and to help parliamentarians in their growing demand for information and also to bring about closer contact between government and researchers, the government now supports the independent Association of Members of Parliament and Researchers.[226] Before 1977, an important source of research finance for universities and colleges was the Central Bank's Jubilee Fund which was established in 1962. The special purpose of the fund was to further research which aimed at increasing knowledge of the effects of technical, economic and social change in society and personal life.[227] As well as support from projects, money was made available for publications, study-trips and equipment, and applicants were required to show how their proposed research was related to previous theoretical work, their own prior research and their experience, and grants were determined by the Bank's research board.[228] Similar conditions are now applied by the Humanities and Social Science Research Council, and it is possible to obtain compensation for loss of income due to research activities as well as to employ assistants within the grant framework.[229] The new council seems to differ little from the previous research council, but with the increased concern for a closer connection between research and society, the rather awesome panels of experts for the vetting of applications, the annual accountability of recipients which has led in some cases to the discontinuing of research of an exploratory nature (theoretically and methodologically),[230] and the new spirit of integration and rationalisation of educational resources, speculation concerning the nature and direction of research foreshadows an increase in conformity of research to public goals.

This relationship between research and policy is amplified in the extent to which the public sector commissions and supports research by people in tertiary institutions. In any one university department, for example, especially in the social sciences, individuals and groups will be working on projects sponsored by the Board of Education, the Department of Social Welfare, SIDA/SAREC and so on. While this provides both some mobility between government and the educational institutions, it also underlines the service function of the institutions, and while no statistical information could be found, a growing funding of research by departments rather than through the research councils seems evident.

It is the intention of the government through the newly-organised system of research to create a "double system" which maintains sectorial activities on short-term projects, but through the councils, maintains a longer term perspective for "coherent and discipline-oriented" fundamental research.[231] At the same time, there is some indication that theme-oriented inter-disciplinary research is also being encouraged. The universities and to some extent the colleges are the main locus for research and include research on behalf of the public sector.[232] There is a double system of control within the educational institutions: the project level and the form of individual research projects is influenced by the sectorial organs and the research councils, while the conditions for research come under the influence of the control organs within universities.[233] Statistics on the number of persons engaged in research vary: 2,150 was the estimate for 1975 (slightly smaller than the number of senior staff of lecturer or research associate status or above, which was 2,166 in 1976/7[234]), and while the number of research students has grown by 15% p.a. since 1950 to reach a total of 12,600 in 1976 (representing about 12% of all university undergraduates, with an estimated 11,000 actively undertaking research), there has been a stagnation in research, especially in the natural sciences, in the 1970s.[235]

d. Organisations and Dissent

As in other spheres of Swedish life, people at institutions of higher education have a strong union organisation. Since 1943, when the organisation for young Swedish academics was founded, there has been a union for academic staff which, since 1947, has been part of SACO, the association for professionally educated people. A separate but affiliated group exists for teaching and research assistants. SACO has grown in strength, and was first represented at a government investigation in 1957.[236] SACO has been concerned with issues of salary and taxation as well as working conditions for its members, and has a central office together with branches at the institution level. It has however been criticised for being undemocratic, a criticism levelled both at the absence of party politics within the organisation and the role of the paid staff in representing the organisation publicly.[237]

There is an even longer tradition of student organisation, going back well into the previous century and even earlier through the student "nations" which existed well into the mid-twentieth century. Both political and cultural groups were a feature of the late nineteenth century. Of particular note has been Verdandi, formed at Uppsala in 1882 to promote freedom of thought and expression and devoted to radical cultural criticism, and still influential.[238] In addition to political and cultural groups, which continue to exist, there is a federation of student unions (SFS) which has focussed on such issues as student welfare, including housing, and matters affecting study including the participation of students in decisions about courses. Violence on the part of students has been very limited and largely confined to the 1968-70 period, and it has been observed that: "Scandinavian student politics and political organization are microcosms of the advanced level of political and occupational organization so characteristic of the

Scandinavian societies ...The decline of ideology and growth of consensus in Swedish politics has probably proceeded as far as in any of the developed societies and is very much reflected in student politics."[239]

While the orderliness with which student political life is carried out in Sweden both mirrors the larger society and is in part a result of changes in that society,[240] it also mirrors the strains in that society. In particular, the centralised bureaucracy of society and the university, the persistent failures of education to break down the class structure of society and the rational application of research to solve some of the world's even grosser problems and injustices, continue to be causes of student unrest.[241] Special account should be taken of the fact that while students, because of their relatively high age at commencing university study, are given a large degree of responsibility and lack of "discipline", they also bring a greater store of experience to the university or other higher educational institutions and are therefore more likely to have definite ideas and expectations concerning the education they are receiving.

The 1975 educational reforms were both the result of, and will continue to be the subject of, widespread research and debate. Both students and academics opposed the reforms on the basis of their technocratic approach, the risk of increased centralisation and bureaucratisation, the reduced influence of faculty and students on the governing boards, and the introduction of quotas in the previously open faculties of theology, law, humanities, social sciences and natural sciences,[242] despite the widespread general societal, including union, support for the proposals. The strengthening of the role of the higher educational system as a means for the social sorting of individuals into occupational slots through the greater emphasis on the needs of the labour market and of industry, including tertiary industry, and the implied closer integration of the public and private sectors which the reforms will help to bring about, has been seen to further the development of a non-dialectical relationship between human capital, manpower planning and social demand which, despite rhetoric to the contrary, excludes a measure of both social criticism and individualisation from higher education.[243]

Research into higher education takes three main forms: research into its organisation and role in society, the organisation and working patterns of teaching, and evaluation.[244] The role of working groups has been a particular focus for investigation, from the point of view both of improving teaching of a particular subject and of increasing the democratisation of the teaching-learning process,[245] which will no doubt lead to recommendations for implementation of changed forms of pedagogy in higher education in a manner seldom found even in the pre-tertiary level in most other countries. Questions of the relationship between research and teaching abilities of staff in higher educational institutions and of the individualisation of student courses and progress through courses are included in pedagogical research in higher education.[246]

Higher education has gained an even stronger place in Swedish society through the 1975 reforms, and can be seen to be a direct continuation of the close links between science, technology and economic interests which have been evident in Sweden since the development of the foundations for the modern state bureaucracy from the middle of the eighteenth century.[247]

D. The Internationalisation of Swedish Education

A conclusion which can be drawn from the history and current situation presented here is that Sweden is an independent country that has reached her now high standard of living through a systematic, scientific, and bureaucratic application to the solution of man's material needs. She has done this largely on her own and with pride in others' reactions rather

than assistance or largescale influence from outside. The extension of her own image of the future as a desirable state for others (with her example and assistance) to emulate is coupled with the desire for international security and solidarity between people to create a sympathy not so much with those less fortunate than herself but with those with fewer resources but similar goals. Some Swedes in the past have achieved international political statute, most notably the late Dag Hammarskjöld, and former Prime Minister Olof Palme clearly saw himself as an international figure.

It was therefore a logical development of Palme's philosophy that he should call for an internationalised approach in education. "We want to internationalize the Swedish society. This is one of the most important tasks of the seventies. Therefore we have to internationalize our educational system."[248] Since the target for this internationalisation of education was the educational system in its entirety, committees and research groups were set up at the various levels during 1972 in order to consider how internationalisation was to be implemented. Husén identified three main ways in which internationalisation could be approached: a specifically international content through the study of foreign languages, history, culture and geography in particular; an international dimension in subjects to gain a new perspective on issues and problems and to develop attitudes to enable students to function in a pluralistic world, and the scientific study of other educational systems to gain insights into the ways in which these systems function, with a view to the possible adaptation of useful aspects of them.[249] The first two approaches are the ones that have been favoured in the development of the internationalisation program.

a. Primary, Secondary and Adult Education

An international perspective had already been incorporated into the 1969-70 educational reforms. For example, the new curriculum for social science in the three year line for the upper secondary school is based on knowledge about social processes, and the final (third year) syllabus section is entitled "International aspects of social problems".[250] Already at the junior level (years 1-?) teachers are encouraged to widen the sphere of interest of the pupils and to talk to children "about people in other countries, pointing out similarities that unite all of us."[251] Beyond that level, in years 4-6, the international orientation is included in religious knowledge, social studies, history, geography and natural science. At the school level, it is stated that: "The purpose of teaching in international questions is to lay the foundations of international understanding and a will for international co-operation. This is primarily a question of creating attitudes on the basis of objective orientation."[252] And a balanced, objective approach together with the need to get away from a Western European perspective, is stressed, although it is also considered important to start with the pupils' understanding of themselves and their immediate environment as a firm basis for an appreciation of others.[253] There is thus seen to be an important relationship between individual personal, intellectual, social, physical and aesthetic development and his/her ability to relate to the wider world. In this process, the working methods as well as the content of the information are considered important.[254]

In a critical survey of development education in the post-primary school, the author found that there was a big gap between the new principles, policies and pedagogical methods embodied in the new curricula, and their practical realisation in the schools. The major problem was seen to lie in the outdated goodwill of teachers which continued to convey exotic and superficial information of a piecemeal variety. The ordinary, active-teacher/passive-student teaching methods and the competitive atmosphere of the schools were considered further impediments to effective development education, defined as a process of conscientisation and dialogue. Teachers showed some enthusiasm

for in-service courses focussing on international topics and new pedagogical methods. "The teachers who are mostly interested in development education are often young, politically conscious, and with such an interest in children that they create a positive social atmosphere in the classroom."[255]

Recognising the importance of the re-training of teachers, an internationalisation working group in Umeå has been considering concrete outlines and methods for use in teacher training, and SIDA has supported a series of study-trips to developing countries which include classroom teachers and which aim to give first-hand experience and to produce information for use in the preparation of curriculum materials and aids.[256] All commentators seem to feel that one of the hardest groups to reach in the internationalisation/ innovation sphere is the teacher educators.[257]

There has been some tradition for folk high schools to have an international slant, for example, the Västerhaninge school organised a special study of Tanzania and produced a handbook of information for use in the classroom. Investigations are also being undertaken into ways of providing more material for, and stimulating interest in, international topics in adult education programs,[258] and SIDA co-sponsored a Nordic seminar on the topic for adult educators in January 1980, with guest speakers from Denmark, the Federal Republic of Germany, the Netherlands and Australia.

b. Internationalising Higher Education

The Office of the Chancellor of the Swedish Universities formed a committee for the internationalisation of higher education in 1972. The preliminary report from this committee distinguished six points of departure for internationalisation: the internationalisation of the economy, of information, of leisure time, of the labour market, and of politics and the increasing awareness of global problems.[259] From these points two major motives for the internationalisation of higher education were determined: the labour market motive and the general motive.[260] Objectives for internationalisation were divided into the attitudinal, informational and skill areas and particular emphasis was given to post-graduate education. Certain conflicts which the internationalisation program might create were recognised, including those between national heritage-internationalised education, international standardisation-national variety, competition for time and money, and the geographical direction of internationalised education (in particular, Europe versus other countries).[261] Three main areas for introducing a more international approach were considered to be an international perspective in all studies, special courses (lines of study, alternative study courses and special subject courses)[262] and foreign language training.[263]

The main report from the committee, produced in 1974, provided more details of the internationalisation program, and special stress was placed on professional language training and exchanges of university personnel. While the policy of not encouraging foreign undergraduates to come to Sweden was re-affirmed, the provision of post-graduate opportunities was endorsed, as was the exchange of staff and the sending of Swedish students abroad. To further these aims, it was recommended that UKÄ establish an international secretariat centrally and in each university. The need for the in-service training of Swedish university teachers was also mentioned.[264]

The internationalisation goal was incorporated into the 1975 reform of higher education and the first special grants to the internationalised program were made in 1977/78 academic year. Before its demise, UKÄ proposed a four-year budget for internationalisation with Skr.10 million recommended for "upgrading the international enterprise of the universities, 5.7 million for posts for visiting teachers, 3.1 million for international secretariats, 1.5 million for courses in professional language training and 0.6 million for

a centre for language pedagogy.[265] Informants commented that, seen within the overall reform of higher education, the whole process can be viewed as one of "reform for the sake of reform" and that the main benefit of the special grants for internationalisation, for which departments in institutions were able to draw up criteria for distribution of funds allocated to them, is the help which small grants may make to the development of existent courses and research. "It will be interesting to see if her [the colleague responsible for the distribution of the grant in one department] strict line will survive in view of the rivalry for money no matter what the purpose is, and will have an effect on teaching."[266]

c. Development Studies, Development Education and Internationalisation

While the labour market motive seems to have been strongly favoured in the internationalisation program, that program must also be seen against the level of international topics and possibilities in Swedish higher education. A chair in rhetorics and political science was established at the University of Uppsala in 1622 as a college for prospective diplomats, and after that "knowledge and skill acquired by Swedish scholars have over centuries, time and time again, been exploited by the Government in its foreign policy - a well-known event in our century was the mobilization of the social science élite to legitimize Sweden's continued supremacy over Norway at the dissolution of the union between the two countries in 1905."[267] However, it was not until the 1960s that the study of international affairs came into fashion again, attributed to the collapse of the western colonial system, the lessening of tension in the Cold War and the economic integration of Europe.[268]

International studies have now been established in the departments of political science in Uppsala and Lund, with individual research but no research program at Göteborg, and new historical studies of international politics and relations have been undertaken by the University of Lund.[269] The overwhelming majority of studies and courses has been concerned with Europe and North America. Peace and Conflict Studies spread rapidly in the 1960s through the setting up of a fund in 1966 by the Nordic Co-operation Committee for International Politics concerning Conflict and Peace Research. Active departments now exist at Lund, Uppsala and Göteborg, with Lund concentrating on research groups and post-graduate students, Uppsala on research and teaching at all levels (the first Swedish doctoral dissertation on peace and conflict was submitted at Uppsala in 1973) and Göteborg on interdisciplinary studies. A large interdisciplinary research project on social and political movements in the Third World is also under way there.[270] Development and area studies are virtually non-existent at the general university level with the exception of the centre for development studies at the University of Uppsala, within the Department of Political Science and responsible for the undergraudate program, which is available for correspondence students, on developing countries and technical assistance.[271] At both Uppsala and Lund individual projects on developing countries are also being undertaken in the Departments of Sociology and Political Science.[272] There is also a Department of International Studies in Economics and of International Studies in Education at Stockholm University, both operating mainly at the research/post-graduate levels.

Social science in general in Sweden was dominated from the turn of the eighteenth century until the 1920s by historical analysis, macro-approaches and comparative method within the continental tradition. During the greater part of the post-World War II period a neo-positivistic pattern influenced by the logical positivists and stressing hard data, quantitative methods, largely ahistorical and oriented to social problems has been in vogue.[273] A German influence was strong but excluded Marx and Weber, and sociology died out in the 1930s and 1940s, to be revived by the establishment of the first Department of Sociology at the University of Uppsala in 1947.[274] The alignment of sociology with the neo-positivist tradition is seen as part of the "role of empiricism as a major social value ... throughout Swedish culture, a stress on what is

empirically verifiable" and both government and industry have been major sponsors of sociological research.[275] Homogeneity in research and the failure, with minor (presumably Marxist-oriented) exceptions, of the formation of schools has been attributed to the relatively few places at which sociology was taught up to the early 1960s, coupled with the bureaucratic structure of the departmental system and the status hierarchy within it which made it difficult for young researchers to criticise their older colleagues or even to freely choose their dissertation topics, the state and industry as the major employers of sociologists, the role of the state in funding research, and the heavily single-discipline-oriented structure of the universities and of research.[276] Only in the field of the sociology of knowledge and in particular, the sociology of research and some recent theoretical studies in social psychology, has new theoretical work been undertaken.[277]

Social anthropology as a separate department is found only at Stockholm University where undergraduate, post-graduate and research work is being carried out. Ethnic minorities as well as studies in developing countries are included in both teaching and research. The department is relatively new,[278] which may in part be attributed to the absence of colonies which boosted interest in ethnography among colonial powers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, (although Norway has a long tradition of ethnological interest[279]) and the orientation of cultural interest to studies of folk culture in Europe.[280] Studies of developing countries have in fact been more frequent in courses in cultural geography, especially at Göteborg.

In medical, agricultural, scientific and technological fields, it is to be expected that SAREC will lead to an increase in research but not teaching which is oriented to developing countries and that this research will, on the whole, be closely aligned with Sweden's development assistance program. In foreign languages, Arabic, Hebrew, Coptic, Ancient Egyptian, Persian, Sanskrit, Hindi, Tamil, Turkish, Chinese, Japanese and Korean were being taught by a total of 62 members of staff in 1976/77 (this only covers "Asian" languages),[281] and it will be interesting to see if this wide range is affected by the strong modern language emphasis in the internationalisation program.

Outside the universities, there is a private Institute of International Affairs established in 1938 which is now described as "the leading Swedish centre for the quantitative, model-building approach to the study of international relations."[282] The Stockholm International Peace Research Institute was established in 1966 and is almost entirely financed by the government, its research being concentrated on questions of disarmament and arms regulation.[283] As part of Nordic co-ordination, Uppsala is the site for the Scandinavian Institute for African Studies which is an inter-disciplinary institute focussing on information-dissemination, established in 1962,[284] and an Institute of Latin American Studies was established in Stockholm in 1969.[285] Perhaps the most significant institution for the furtherance of interest and involvement in international affairs is the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, founded in 1962 to organise seminars, conferences and courses on the social and economic problems of developing countries.[286] Through its publications and seminar programs, together with joint sponsorship of programs with such agencies as SIDA,[287] it is both an international agency and one which can exercise some influence on development issues within Sweden. Of particular note in this connection is its presentation to the Seventh Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly of an internationally-advised paper and its subsequent involvement of Swedes in the discussion of the implications for their own lifestyles.[288] There is also a Stockholm-based Association for Development Questions, which holds monthly meetings, special-topic seminars in association, for example, with UN organisations, and issues publications.

Student organisations have shown some interest in development issues, and the SFS organised a seminar of student union leaders from Austria, Norway, Denmark, Yugoslavia, FRG, France and Finland in 1976 to discuss the internationalisation of education. While the seminar focussed heavily on hearing papers from senior internationalists and academics, discussion groups did take place and looked at the ramifications of the Swedish internationalisation program and the relationship between education and development.[289] There are a number of country-specific and issue-specific student groups which keep the countries and issues before their fellow-students, the National Council of Swedish Youth has maintained an interest in international and development issues,[290] and the growing size and variety of SIDA grants to popular movements for their informational activities indicate at least a certain level of interest in developing countries and issues. The work of adult education, too, shows a growing interest in courses on such topics, and there is in addition some interest in the work of Paulo Freire.[291] However, the public support for the concept of solidarity can be seen as agreement with a long-standing governmental ideal, rather than concrete activity to further its realisation, and the systematic and technocratic manner in which policy is formulated and implemented from the top, with representative rather than active participation in those processes in almost every sphere of Swedish life, run directly counter to the methodology if not the philosophy which underlies development education.

CONCLUSION

Through its internationalisation of education program, Sweden has legitimated a uniquely Swedish approach to providing better employment prospects for its citizens, better prospects for Swedish ventures, both commercial and governmental, abroad, and an increased level of knowledge in Sweden about social processes at home and abroad. The program illustrates certain entrenched features of Swedish life and culture: an inspired decision from on top, accepted and systematically implemented through bureaucratic channels, and couched in a legitimating ideology which stresses solidarity with the less fortunate (the humanitarian motive) combined with a level-headed aim to increase the efficiency with which Sweden deals with the world, especially in the commercial sphere (the labour market motive). The bureaucratic channels for grafting this program onto the educational system were well established, and the provision of finance for research, the development of materials and teaching methods and the training or re-training of individuals to use them more effectively has led to a general, if unenthusiastic, consensus that the internationalisation program is a "good thing", and another "first" for Sweden in world affairs.

To the extent that any opposition to the program is evident, it is most evident within higher education. There is a relatively small base for international studies in higher education, which has come about largely through Sweden's previous lack of involvement in world, especially tropical world, affairs, coupled with the orientation of the whole educational system to domestic concerns and policies. Nor is there a tradition of innovative studies within the disciplinary structure of the institutions, and some of the recent innovations, especially in futures work, have taken place through outside secretariats and committees which have then drawn selectively on the institutions for advice and implementation of research. Thus, while the internationalisation program, together with the 1975 higher educational reforms and the whole direction of research policy have increasingly stressed inter-disciplinarity, the weight of academic tradition and the positions of power of the established departments provide brakes and a measure of opposition to the new policies. The internationalisation program is new in its scope and ambitions, but it is not radically different to the way in which other reforms in education have been conceived and implemented. Therefore, while the legitimation of the program in ideological terms is not problematic nor does

it represent any novelty in the way in which social change has in general taken place in Sweden, and while educational reforms have provided a structure for its implementation, again well within established methods of undertaking such changes, it has yet to gain legitimacy within the disciplines, teaching and research within higher education.

Swedish institutions have, however, proved adaptable to the introduction of change in the past. Since the internationalisation program is backed up with financial resources for its implementation, and since supporters who have already been engaged in relevant teaching and research exist, it is to be expected that pockets of resistance will decrease and internationalisation will become a legitimate if relatively low-key feature of Swedish educational life. The implications of this program and its increasing legitimacy are likely to be widespread for other approaches to international/development issues. Given the homogeneity of and consensus within Swedish society, and the institutional machinery to perpetuate these, it is unlikely that other approaches, and in particular development education, will gain a footing, structurally or ideologically. It is interesting to note that two seminars on development issues held there in January 1980 were titled "development information (formerly development education)", a tendency which shows continuity with general thinking on the importance of impartial information.

There is a close correspondence between the aims and philosophy of the society at large, those of the until-recently ruling Social Democratic Party, and the educational system, although over-emphasis on homogeneity masks real, and possibly growing, contradictions and conflict within society. The correspondence is greater for schools. At the level of higher education, both the traditional nature of the universities in particular, and the traditions of the particular disciplines as well as their position within higher education, play some role in legitimating the knowledge generated and transmitted. The role of political and economic factors can be seen here, in the fact that the state has supported and attempted to change the structure and content of both teaching and research, although it has been more influential and successful in the latter than in the former. It is economic factors, in particular the requirements of the labour market, that have been more effective in bringing about change in the range and content of courses taught within higher education, since academics in Sweden as in many other places are dependent on student numbers for their continued employment. Swedes value education, in a way which can be interpreted as an expression of social democratic philosophy overlaid with elitism, and a pragmatic belief in its power to improve the individual's opportunities for better employment and upward social mobility. The concept of "education for leisure" (one could almost say using one's leisure time for education) is also officially espoused and practised by a large number of Swedes and sponsored re-education is becoming increasingly important as the structure of the job market changes.

In general, it seems apparent that a strong, centralised government, with well-developed institutions, research capacities and unifying philosophy exercises a tight control on the generation, dissemination and legitimation of knowledge. When power is centralised, educational change closely follows and is legitimated by changes in policy at the centre, and change is centrally implemented throughout the educational system. Efforts to legitimate new knowledge, new forms of educational organisation, and new methods of acquiring and transmitting knowledge must begin by identifying both the points in the system where change is possible and the need for and ramifications of change in the balance of power, in order to challenge existing legitimations and practices in ways which will lead to effective, rather than palliative, changes.

1. Irene Scobbie. Sweden. London, Ernest Benn Ltd, 1972, p.23.

2. The Swedish Institute. "Sweden". Fact sheets on Sweden FS 100 h N, 1974.

3. Swedish Section. "History of Sweden". University of Melbourne, Department of Germanic Studies, 1975 (mimeo), p.6.

4. Scobbie. op.cit., p.41.

5. Ibid., p.39.

6. Ibid., pp.42-8.

7. The Swedish Institute. "Sweden". op.cit.

8. Radio Sweden Foreign Program, 13 February 1976.

9. Scobbie. op.cit., p.53.

10. Radio Sweden Foreign Program, 13 February 1976.

11. Scobbie. op.cit., pp.54-60.

12. Ibid., p.64.

13. Ibid., p.67; The Swedish Institute. "Sweden". op.cit.

14. Scobbie. op.cit., p.70.

15. Ibid., pp.74-5.

16. This is documented especially in the autobiographical writings of August Strindberg (see August Strindberg. The son of a servant. London, Jonathon Cape, 1967. [translated E. Sprinchorn] and August Strindberg. A madman's defence. London, Jonathon Cape, 1969 [translated E. Sprinchorn]) and the success of the romantic-religious writers of the late nineteenth to the mid twentieth century, Selma Lagerlöf and Pär Lagerqvist.

17. Scobbie. op.cit., pp.60, 72.

18. Ibid., pp.82-3, and vividly portrayed in Vilhelm Moberg. Utvandrarna. Stockholm, Bonniers, 1967 ["The emigrants"].

19. Scobbie. op.cit., p.77.

20. Ibid., pp.81-2.

21. The Swedish Institute. "General facts on Sweden". Fact sheets on Sweden FS 99 d N, 1974.

22. Scobbie, op.cit., p.82.

23. Ibid., p.85.

24. Ibid., pp.87-8.

25. The Nyaliberalerna [new liberals] were founded in 1868, the reformed Farmers' Party in 1895, and the liberal Folkpartiet in 1896: Scobbie. op.cit. pp.84, 93.

26. Ibid., p.89.

27. Ibid., p.95.

28. Åke Thulstrup. Svensk politik 1905-1939. Stockholm, Bonniers, 1968, pp.30-1. ["Swedish politics 1905-1939"].

29. Ibid., p.32.

30. Ibid., p.34.

31. Ibid., pp.48-9.

32. Ibid., p.54.

33. Ibid., p.54-5.

34. Ibid., p.57.

35. Ibid., pp.64-6.

36. Ibid., p.67.

37. Ibid., p.82.

38. Ibid., p.86.

39. Ibid., p.90.

40. Ibid., pp.94-5.

41. Ibid., pp.108-110.

42. Ibid., pp.130-1.

43. Ibid., pp.92, 120-7.

44. Ibid., p.133. The party's leader, Carl Ekman, became Prime Minister.

45. Ibid., pp.149-150.

46. Ibid., pp.150-1.

47. Ibid., p.152.

48. Ibid., p.163.

49. Ibid., p.164.

50. Ibid., p.167.

51. Åke Elmér. Från fattigsverige till välfärdsstaten. Stockholm, Bonniers, 1963, p.69 ["From poor Sweden to the welfare state"].

52. Thulstrup. op.cit., p.171.

53. Ibid., pp.167-171.

54. Ibid., pp.178-184.

55. Ibid., p.183.

56. Ibid., p.183.

57. Scobbie. op.cit., pp.129-137.

58. Ibid., p.129.

59. The Swedish Institute. "Sweden". Fact sheets on Sweden FS 100 n N, 1979.

60. The Swedish Institute. Profile of Sweden. Stockholm, Bonniers, 1972, p.13.

61. The Swedish Institute. "Immigrants in Sweden". Fact sheets on Sweden FS 63 k Ohd, 1978.

62. The Swedish Institute. "The Lapps in Sweden". Fact sheets on Sweden FS 59 g Mcs, 1979.

63. The Swedish Institute. "Immigration policy in Sweden". Fact sheets on Sweden. FS 63 f Ohd, 1974.

64. Ibid.

65. Anonymous. "A-och B-flyktingar". Dagens Nyheter 5 April 1976 ["A and B refugees].

66. The Swedish Institute. "General facts ..." op.cit.

67. The Swedish Institute. Profile of Sweden. op.cit., p.33.

68. The Swedish Institute. "Women in Swedish society". Fact sheets on Sweden. FS 82 d Ohj, 1977.

69. Ibid.

70. The information in this section was obtained primarily from: The Swedish Institute. "Swedish government in action". Fact sheets on Sweden FS 55 j Od, 1977, supplemented by The Swedish Institute. Profile of Sweden. op.cit. and Ministry of Finance. The Swedish budget 1976/77. Stockholm, 1976, pp.79-94.

71. The Swedish Institute. "Local government in Sweden". Fact sheets on Sweden. FS 52 f Od, 1976.

72. The Swedish Institute. Profile of Sweden. op.cit., p.148.

73. The Swedish Institute. "The Swedish economy". Fact sheets on Sweden. FS 1 I Qas, 1977.

74. The Swedish Institute. "Immigrants ..." op.cit.

75. The Swedish Institute. "Swedish industry". Fact sheets on Sweden. FS 57 h Qad, 1977.

76. Ibid.

77. Ibid.

78. The Swedish Institute. "Sweden's foreign trade". Fact sheets on Sweden. FS 53 j. Qi, 1977.

79. Ministry of Finance. op.cit. especially pp.7-10.

80. The Swedish Institute. "Social insurance in Sweden". Fact sheets on Sweden. FS 5 i Ok, 1974.

81. Elmer, op.cit., p.99.

82. Reported in Dagens Nyheter 26 February 1976.

83. Kathleen Nott. A clean, well-lighted place. London, Heinemann, 1961, p.14.

84. Walter Korpi. "Poverty, social assistance and social policy in Sweden, 1945-72". In Richard Scase, ed. Readings in the Swedish class structure. Oxford. Pergamon, 1976, p.146.

85. The Swedish Institute. "Labour relations in Sweden". Fact sheets on Sweden. FS 3 i Ohac, 1977.

86. The Swedish Institute. "Swedish labour market policy". Fact sheets on Sweden. FS 6 g Oha, 1976.

87. Ibid.

88. James Fulcher, "Class conflict: joint regulation and its decline". In Scase ed. op.cit., p.87.

89. Bertil Östergren. Makten och ärligheten. Stockholm, Askild and Kärnekull, 1970 ["Power and honesty"] pp.45-6.

90. Ministry of Finance, op.cit., p.104.

91. Andrew Jamison. "On the politicization of energy in Denmark and Sweden". Nordisk forum 12 (3): 30-1, 1977.

92. Ibid., p.33.

93. Ibid., p.19.

94. The key statute is the 1969 Environment Protection Action: The Swedish Institute. "Environment protection in Sweden". Fact sheets on Sweden. FS 58 g Uh, 1977.

95. OECD. Environmental policy in Sweden. Paris, 1977, p.41.

96. Ibid., p.54.

97. The Swedish Institute. "Environmental policy ..." op.cit.

98. Reported by Ronny Svensson in Dagens Nyheter 32 March 1976.

99. Lars Ingelstam and Ola Johansson. "Secretariat for Future Studies - a presentation". Skandinaviska Enskilda Banken Quarterly Review 2, 1976, pp.59-60.

100. Ibid., p.63.

101. Samarbetskomittén för långsiktsmotiveradforskning. "Samarbetskommitténs arbetsuppgifter och organisation". Information 1, 1975 ["The joint working committee's working details and organisation"].

102. Ingelstam and Johansson. op.cit., p.60.

103. Education for Mission Desk, CWME. Sweden mirrored in ecumenical team report. Geneva, WCC, 1976, p.11.

104. The influence of pietism on the upbringing of many Swedes now in their thirties and forties was a frequent topic mentioned by informants, and although most had given up, gradually or dramatically, any form of religious practice, they felt that their attitudes to many aspects of public if not private morality had been affected by that upbringing.

105. Carin Boalt and Erland Jonsson. "Social stratifiering och privat konsumtion" ["Social stratification and private consumption"]; Robert Erikson. "Om stratifieringsteorier" ["On the theory of stratification"]; Carl-Gunnar Janson. "Brott och sociala strata" ["Crime and social stratum"]; Harald Swedner. "Barriären mot finkulturen" ["Barriers to fine culture"]; Kaare Svalastoga. "Mätning av status" ["Measuring status"]; all in Carl-Gunnar Janson, ed. Det differentierade samhället. Stockholm, Prisma, 1968 ["The differentiated society"].

106. Robert Erikson. "Patterns of social mobility". In Scase, ed. op.cit. p.175.

107. Loc.cit.

108. Ibid., p.177.

109. Ibid., p.202.

110. Kaare Svalastoga. "Social rörlighet". In Janson, ed. op.cit. p.195. ["Social mobility"].

111. Ibid., p.203.

112. Kjell Härnqvist and Allan Svensson. "Social bakgrund, skolprestation och utbildningsval". In Janson, ed. op.cit., p.239. ["Social background, school achievement and educational choice"].

113. Edmunc Dahlström. "Attityder hos tjänstemän och arbetare". In Janson, op.cit. ["Attitudes amongst clears and workers"].

114. Ulf Himmelstrand and Jan Lindhagen. "Status-rejection, ideological conviction and some other hypotheses about Social Democratic loyalty in Sweden". In Scase, ed. op.cit., p.259.

115. Loc.cit.

116. Göran Therborn. Det svenska klassamhället 1930-70. Lund, Zenit Särtryck, 1973, p.35. ["The Swedish class coeity 1930-70"].

117. Ibid., pp.38-9.

118. Reported in Dagens Nyheter 4 February 1976, based on surveys by the Swedish Institute for Opinion Research (SIFO).

119. This movement, which gathered strength in the late 1960s, has been seen both as an attempt to cope with the move from the country to the city in a single generation, and as an attempt to establish some close bonds, namely with nature, under an "umbrella" of environmental concern. See Berit Wahlgren. "The dream of togetherness". Report from SIDA, 1973. In Christian groups in particular, there is also an ideological aspect, especially in the formation of communes: see Per Frostin. "Communes in Sweden". WSCF Europe 4, 1972 and an interview with the sister of one of the commune founders, 20 August 1978.

120. In 1975 two members of the Secretariat for Future Studies produced, in their private capacity, a paper suggesting ways in which the Swedish lifestyle may change through control and reduced consumption in five main areas (Göran Bäckstrand and Lars Ingelstam. "How much is enough? Another Sweden". Development dialogue, 1975). The report was given wide media coverage and an analysis of this showed that 6% of the daily press was in favour of the suggestions, 35% were neither positive nor negative, and 59% were predominantly negative while the journals were mostly negative, with the exception of the conservative, consumer and Christians ones: Stig Lindholm. "'Another Sweden': How the Swedish press reacted". Development dialogue 1, 1976, pp.72-3 and 75-6; see also Birgita Allard and Stig Lindholm. Lagom? Pressdebatten kring förslaget om ett annorlunda Sverige. Stockholm: Department of Education, Stockholm University, UMIL-gruppen Rapport 9, 1976["Exactly right? The press debate about the proposal for another Sweden"].

121. Apart from the press and personal discussions, this "litany of longings" is graphically depicted in the films of Ingemar Bergman. A rare critical voice is found in Jan Myrdal: "Contact and human relations are popular in our culture. Books are filled with the phrases. And when I was sufficiently young I believed in the written words. I assumed that good human relations were fruitful. But I found that if I was to bear any fruit after these contacts then I would bear suburban gardens, model railroads, football, prejudice about race, the low life. That sort of human relationship is one-sided. I cannot give insight. I only become blunted. When playing the game you have to follow the rules.

I have reason to consider that nearly everything my contemporaries imagine to be true, accepted and real is only hallucinations, lies and self deceptions." Jan Myrdal. Confessions of a disloyal European. New York, Pantheon Books, 1968, pp.165-6.

122. Nott, op.cit. p.16.

123. Ibid., pp.127-130.

124. George Walton Scott. The Swedes: a jigsaw puzzle. London, Sidgwick and Jackson, 1967, pp.12-13.

125. The Swedish Institute. Profile ... op.cit. and interviews with the Swedish Red Cross, workers in child-care centres and students during 1976.

126. Secretariat for Future Studies. Sveriges internationella vilkor. op.cit. p.7:

"One of the uppermost questions is how a small country like Sweden can determine its own future in a world where the spheres of influence of the great powers and the multinational corporations are constantly broadening.

An important and necessary means is that we study the future ourselves, for ourself and that of the world around us. Our studies should be based on democratic aims and express demand for international solidarity. In that way the small state can mobilise public opinion in favour of other possible alternatives concerning the world of the future."

127. Ernst Michanek. Vår insats för u-länderna. Stockholm, Prisma, 1970, p.17. ["Our contribution for the developing countries"].

128. Secretariat for Future Studies. Sveriges ... op.cit., p.9.

129. Reported in "Palme och Europa". Dagens Nyheter Editorial, 21 February 1976.

130. Briefe und Gespräche, 1972 bis 1975 quoted in Ernest Michanek. "What capacity for change?" Development dialogue 1, 1976, pp.2-3.

131. "Palme och Europa". op.cit.

132. SIDA. Sweden's policy for international development co-operation. Stockholm, SIDA Information Division, 1974, p.17. This figure varies: for the 1973/4 fiscal year it was thirty-three and one-third per cent. See also the statement on p.18: "Swedish efforts have consistently aimed at strengthening the influence of developing countries in the multilateral organisations."

133. The funds allocated for aid grew by around 25% p.a. from the 1960s so that by the 1970s the OECD-DAC target of 1% of GNP was almost reached: SIDA. Loc.cit. and Australian Budget Papers. "Australia's overseas development assistance, 1975/6". Canberra, Australian Government Publishing Service, 1975/6 Budget Paper 10, 1975.

134. Information provided for inquirers about study in Sweden are positively off-putting, pointing out the need to spend six months learning Swedish (in stark contrast to the FRG, for example, where full-time language study is built into many scholarships), the scarcity of scholarships and jobs, and the high cost of living: The Swedish Institute. "Foreign student in Sweden". Fact sheets on Sweden FS 61 h Ep, 1974.

Attempts to find the exact figures and distribution of overseas students were referred from the Swedish Institute to SIDA and back again, with the comment that no separate figures were kept on students from developing countries, and that only the number of foreign students starting a course was known, not their results. Further, the four bilateral programs for scholarships for Latin Americans can be seen in the light of 14 for Western Europe and 7 for Eastern Europe: Personal communication from the Swedish Institute, 19 October 1977. One official rationale for this approach is couched in terms of the problem of the brain drain and the desirability of assisting both third country training and institution-building in the developing countries: Lars-Olof Edström. "På väg mot en global utbildningskris". In TEMA/SIDA. U-debatt. Stockholm, Rabén and Sjögren, 1971. ["On the way to a global crisis in education"].

135. SIDA. "SIDA's organisation". Stockholm, SIDA Faktablad 11:5 a:1, 1974 (mimeo).

136. SAREC. SAREC's first year. Stockholm, SIDA, 1976, Preface.

137. SIDA. Swedish criteria for programme and project support. Stockholm, SIDA Information Division, 1972, p.1.

138. Sweden's policy for international development co-operation. Stockholm, Office for International Development Co-operation, Ministry for Foreign Affairs, 1979.

139. Lars Kalderen. "Inledning". In TEMA/SIDA. U-debatt. op.cit. p.10 ["Introduction"].

140. Ibid., p.11.

141. SIDA. Sweden's policy ... op.cit., p.10.

142. Ibid., p.23. It should be noted that up to one-third of Swedish assistance is in the form of loans and commodity (i.e. tied) aid: pp.20-1.

143. Kalderen, op.cit. p.19.

144. Ulf Himmelstrand. "Familjplaniering, marxism och fattigdom". In TEMA/SIDA. U-debatt. op.cit. [Family planning Marxism and poverty] and Carl Wahren. "Familjplaniering - SIDAs roll i ett globalt sammanhang". In TEMA/SIDA. op.cit. [Family planning - SIDA's role in a global context].

145. Brigitta Leander. "Hjälp till självhjälp? Funderingar kring Community Development". In TEMA/SIDA. op.cit. [Help for self-help? Considerations about Community Development].

146. Kalderen. op.cit.; Carl Schönmeyr. "'Hjälparen' - FN-experten". In TEMA/SIDA. op.cit. ["Helpers" - UN experts] and Michanek. Vår insats... op.cit. especially pp.132-3.

147. SAREC. op.cit. For 1976 2.4 million crowns was spent on development research in Sweden, together with 18 scholarships totalling a further 210,000 crowns; S.Kr. 1.420 million was committed to special research in 1975/6 (S.Kr. 2,200 million in 1976/7), S.Kr. 55,460 to international programs (S.Kr. 56,570 in 1976/7) and a further planned research expenditure of S.Kr. 6,245 million should have been used in 1976/7: pp.40-3. SAREC's budget was S.Kr. 1 million for its own program in 1975/6, rising to S.Kr. 1.8 million in 1976/7: p.44.

148. Michanek. Vår insats ... p.157.

149. Gunnar Persson. "Fel svar på fel fråga". In TEMA/SIDA op.cit. p.45. [The wrong answer to the wrong question].

150. Ibid., p.47; "Jaha, man skall bredda det folkliga deltargandet i utvecklingsprocessen, Varför inte i stället låta folket ta makten? Nej, Radetski talar om att ändra ledarskiktens attityder inte ledare. Hur da? Genom samtalsterapi?"

151. SIDA. Swedish Volunteer Service. Stockholm, SIDA Information Division, undated, p.7.

152. Hans Björkman. "Utbildning för u-landsarbete - SIDA, DYRK, UBV eller ..." In TEMA/SIDA. op.cit., p.210. [Education for work in developing countries - SIDA, DYRK, UBV or ...].

153. Ibid., p.213.

154. SIDA. Swedish Volunteer Service. op.cit., p.8.

155. Lindholm. Appointment with the Third World. op.cit., p.22.

156. Ibid., p.31.

157. Ibid., p.54.

158. Thorsten Nilsson. "SIDA's support of the popular movements' information dissemination on development countries 1972/3 and 1973/4". Stockholm, SIDA Information Division, 1973 (mimeo), p.2.

159. Ibid., p.4.

160. SIDA. "Hjälp till u-hjälp". Stockholm, SIDA Information Division, 1973, pp.11-12. [Help for self-help].

161. Heinz Gabler. "Offentlichkeitsarbeit Dritte Welt" in Schweden, den Niederlanden und Osterreich. Vienna, IBE-Forschungsdokumentation 10, 1977, pp.46-83. ["Public working situation Third World" in Sweden, the Netherlands and Austria].

162. For example, the 1972 Royal Commission on International Development Co-operation and the 1977 review of Swedish International Development Co-operation 1973-1977, following Palme's action program "Sweden in the World", 1970; Just Faaland, Marc Nerfin and Göran Ohlin. Confrontation or co-operation? A dialogue on development and independence". Development dialogue 1, 1974, and after 1977: Commission on Swedish International Development Co-operation. "Extracts from the report of the Commission on Swedish International Development Co-operation, 1973/77". Development dialogue 1, 1977.

163. Lindholm. Image of the developing countries. op.cit. and the discussion of his results in Chapter VI.

164. Gabler, op.cit., p.44. A recent interesting comparative study with similar findings is in Ringdal, Kristin. "Public opinion and information on Third World relations in Norway, Sweden and the Netherlands". IFDA Dossier 9, 1979.

165. Both Nott (op.cit., p.63) and Scott (op.cit., pp.63-5) mentioned this, and the following quotation from a tourist catalogue provides an interesting insight into the subject:

> "Större delen av hotellens servicepersonal kommer fron Englands före detta besittningar. Tänk däför på att kanske miss Ling inte har samma uppfattning om hur städning ska utföras, some fru Andersson hemma i Sverige." Scandinavian Touring. "London". Stockholm, 1976, p.8.["A large proportion of hotel service personnel come from England's former dependencies. Therefore consider the possibility that Miss Ling perhaps does not have the same notion of how the cleaning should be done as Miss Andersson back home in Sweden."]

166. Gabler, op.cit., p.25. "From such a view of Swedish development policy one gets the idea that here, as in previously described areas, 'Politics is work' prevails and that it is treated as the work of the elite without much populace participation."

167. Ibid., p.42.

168. Gösta Edgren. "Bistand är både inrikes- och utrikespolitik". In TEMA/SIDA. op.cit., pp.50-1.["Assistance is both internal and external politics"] and Commission on Swedish International Development Co-operation. op.cit., pp.105-7.

169. Scobbie. op.cit., pp.41, 52.

170. Ibid., p.57.

171. Ibid., p.72.

172. Ibid., p.88.

173. Thulstrup, op.cit., pp.14-15.

174. Torsten Husén and Gunnar Boalt. Educational research and educational change: the case of Sweden. Stockholm, Almqvist and Wiksell, 1968, p.10.

175. Sixten Marklund. "Comparative education aspects of school reforms in Sweden". Stockholm, The National Board of Education, 1970 (mimeo), p.4.

176. Husén and Boalt. op.cit., p.14.

177. The Swedish Institute. "Primary and secondary education in Sweden". Fact sheets on Sweden FS 39 h Em, 1974.

178. Ibid.

179. Elmer, op.cit., p.99.

180. National Swedish Board of Education. "Folk high schools (folkhögskola)". Stockholm, undated (mimeo).

181. J.-S. Karlsson and C. Rudhe. "Forms of governance for the educational system in Sweden". Stockholm, Swedish Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs, 1973 (mimeo).

182. Ibid., p.4.

183. The Swedish Institute. Profile ... op.cit.

184. The National Swedish Board of Education. "Pupil-led activities in breaks". Stockholm, 1972 (mimeo).

185. Sixten Marklund. "Educational research and development in Sweden". Stockholm, The National Board of Education, 1971 (mimeo), p.2.

186. Britta Stenholm. "Future working procedures in the Swedish basic school". Current Sweden 127, 3, 1976.

187. Interview, 25 July 1974.

188. Stenholm, op.cit., p.2.

189. Ibid., pp.1-2.

190. Ibid., p.6.

191. Lena Juhlin and Lasse Ridell, eds. Att tillämpa en frigörande pedagogik. Malmö, Liber Läromedel, 1976 ["To practise a liberating pedagogy"], and Gertrun Schyl-Bjurman and Karin Stromberg-Lind. Dialog pedagogik. Lund, Liber Läromedel, 1976 ["Dialogue pedagogy"].

192. Johnny Holberg. "The parent-teacher movement in Sweden". Current Sweden. 128, 1, 1976.

193. Per Acke Orstadius and Christer Wallentin. Den goda skolan - varför inte? Stockholm, Raben and Sjögren, 1976 ["The good school - why not?"].

194. Holberg, op.cit., pp.3-4.

195. Orstadius. op.cit., pp.136-144.

196. Ingemar Emmanuelsson. Utbildning för anpassade. Stockholm, Raben and Sjögren, 1977 ["Education for adjustment"].

197. Elmer, op.cit., pp.94-5; Levin et.al., op.cit. especially p.12 ff. and Dagens Nyheter 31 March 1976.

198. Torsten Husén. Jämlikhet genom utbildning? Stockholm, Natur och Kultur, 1978, p.135. ["Equality through education?"].

199. Ibid., p.140.

200. Torsten Husén. The learning society. London, Methuen and Co., 1974, p.25.

201. Ibid., p.27.

202. Husén. Jämlikhet ... op.cit., pp.42-52.

203. Husén. The learning society. op.cit., pp.69-73, and Kjell Harnqvist and J. Bengtsson. "Education reforms and educational equality". in Scase, ed. op.cit.

204. Marklund. op.cit., especially p.13.

205. Husén. Jämlikhet ... op.cit., p.139.

206. Thulstrup, op.cit., p.15.

207. Scobbie, op.cit., p.194.

208. Ibid., p.193.

209. Carl Tham. Universiteten i utbildningssamhället. Stockholm, Aldus/Bonniers, 1971 ["The university in the educated society"]. p.19.

210. Bertril Östergren. "Swedish higher education to be broadened". Current Sweden, 92:2, 1975. Previous reforms were enacted in 1963, and in 1966/7 investigations into the organisation of programs of study were undertaken by UKAS which recommended, inter alia, the establishment of 34 main courses from amongst which students could choose for the first two undergraduate years: Gunnar Brandell. Skolreform och universitetskris. Stockholm, Aldus/Bonniers, 1969, pp.27-34 ["School reform and the university crisis"].

211. Ostergren. "Swedish higher education ..." op.cit. p.3.

212. Regierings proposition. Reformering av högskoleutbildning. Stockholm Särtryck 1975: 9, pp.405-406: ["Reform of higher education"]: "Since the role of higher education in social development is a problem orientation for education, the question of contents and working forms is of central significance. Education and the labour market are mutually dependent on each other: at the same time that higher education must aim at utilising society's need for qualified manpower, among other things, it is partially adapted to the labour market's requirements for the supply of educated people and their direction ... It is clear that the last years' never-ending flow to higher education goes together with an imbalance between the direction of education and the demand for education in the labour market".

213. Svenska Riksdagen. Reformering av högskoleutbildningen. Stockholm, 1975: 17, p.2. ["The reform of higher education"].

214. Östergren. "Swedish higher education ..." op.cit., pp.7-8.

215. Ibid., p.6.

216. Ibid. and Svenska Riksdagen. op.cit. pp.24-5.

217. Tham. op.cit., pp.155-162.

218. UKA. Petita för 1977-1978 för universitet och högskolar. Stockholm, September 1976 ["Petition for 1977-1978 for universities and higher schools"].

219. Ingemar Stahl. U74. En samhällsekonomisk analys av den högre utbildning. Stockholm, Studieförbundet Näringsliv och Samhälle, 1974, Chapter I ["U 74. A socio-economic analysis of higher education"]. For a discussion of the problems of relating salaries to qualification levels see Östergren. Makten ... op.cit., pp.23-30 and 39-44.

220. Regerings proposition. op.cit., pp.462-8.

221. Hjärnqvist and Bengtsson, op.cit. pp.208-218.

222. Stahl. op.cit., especially pp.79-83, where he discusses the ways in which the expansion of the public sector in particular has strengthened the job-sorting and filtering function of education in general, and higher education in particular.

223. Regerings proposition. op.cit. Section 5; Svenska Riksdagen. op.cit., pp.47-8.

224. Regerings proposition. op.cit., pp.447-451.

225. Stahl. op.cit., pp.45-8.

226. The Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs. Research policy in Sweden. Stockholm, 1978, p.13.

227. Ibid., p.16.

228. Riksbankens Jubileumsfond. "Information till anslagssökande". Stockholm, 1977 (mimeo). ["Information for applicants"].

229. Ibid., pp.2-3 and 5-8.

230. Humanistisk-samhällsvetenskapliga Forskningsrådet. "Anvisningar för ansökning om forskningsanslag". Stockholm, 1977 (mimeo): [Information for applicants for research grants].

231. Personal interviews, 1976.

232. Ministry of Education and Culture, op.cit., p.34.

233. There are three main research institutes, in the fields of science, engineering and medicine, as well as a small number of private research foundations: Ibid., p.26.

234. Loc.cit.

235. Ibid., p.31.

236. Ibid., p.23.

237. Östergren. Makten ... op.cit., p.31.

238. Ibid., pp.31-38.

239. R.F. Tomasson and Erik Allardt. "Scandinavian students and the politics of organized radicalism". In S.M. Lipset and P.G. Altbach, eds. Students in revolt. Boston, Beacon Press, 1969, p.104.

240. Ibid., pp.96, 104.

241. For example, the fact that student concern about the highly theoretical nature of education and the mass character of university teaching was current in the 1960s, at the time when the government has initiated investigations which led to the 1975 reforms, and that these reforms include an emphasis on individualisation of study programs as well as new courses and greater vocational preparation.

242. Thomasson and Allardt. op.cit., pp.118-120.

243. Östergren. "Swedish higher education ..." op.cit., p.2.

244. See Brandell. op.cit., especially pp.107-116; Soren Johansson. "U68 - det nya universitet". Häften för kritiska studier 6 (5-6), 1973 and UKA. Research into higher education. A review of current Swedish projects". Educational development 5, 1975, p.24 where the need for new and "unconventional" methods to bring about a close relationship between research and basic higher education is pointed out.

245. UKA. "Research and development concerning higher education". Educational development 4 1975, Part 5.

246. Anders Fransson, ed. "Universitetsstudier i arbetsgrupp". UKA-rapport 16, 1975.

247. Tham. op.cit., pp.151-8.

248. Andrew Jamison. "The roots of our woes. On the historical relations between science and society in Denmark and Sweden." University of Lund, Research Policy Program Discussion Paper 119, 1978 (mimeo) pp.12, 13 and 19.

249. Inge Löwdin. "The internationalization of Swedish education". Stockholm, National Board of Education, 1974 (mimeo), p.1.

250. Torsten Husén. "Utbildnings internationalisering". Föreläsning vid professorssinstallation vid Stockholms universitet, 13 October 1972, pp.88-9.

251. SO. Planeringssupplement Socialkunskap 3-ariga linjer, Lgy.70. Stockholm, 1973 ["Planning supplement social knowledge, three year line"].

252. Löwdin. op.cit., p.6.

253. Ibid., p.3.

254. Inger Andersson and Lars Sundgren. "Utdervisningens internationalisering". Umeå, Lärarhögskolan, 1975 (mimeo), pp.4-5. [The internationalisation of education]

255. Ibid., pp.5-8.

256. Eva Almgren, ed. "The Swedish report of the European study of education for development at the post-primary level". Malmö. 1973 (mimeo).

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278. Ibid., pp.119-122. Special mention in this connection should be made of the work of Steven Dedijer and his Research Policy Program at Lund University which, while being primarily concerned with UNCSTED is also engaged in research and teaching about a number of socio-political and economic issues in developing countries (Cuba, China and Tanzania in particular) and in developed-developing countries (see Forskningspolitiska Programmet. "FPP:s historia". Lund University, 1978 (mimeo) and the Lund letter), and of Stig Lindholm, leader of UMIL-gruppen, whose increasingly inter-disciplinary and theoretical work on environmental and developmental issues is being undertaken at the Department of Education, Stockholm University.

279. Repeated attempts from 1976-1978 to ascertain details of the department and of social anthropology in Sweden in general were referred to institutions in Norway and Denmark, to Swedish Radio and to the Office of the Chancellor of the Swedish Universities, and no concrete information was ever obtained.

280. Personal communication from the Ethnological Museum, Oslo, 7 December 1977. The Museum was founded in 1857.

281. Information obtained from an interview, 1977.

282. Asian Studies Association of Australia. "The teaching of Asian languages in Australian tertiary institutions". Report submitted to the Second Biennial Conference of ASAA, University of N.S.W., 1978, Annex.

283. Ford Foundation. International studies ... op.cit., p.171.

284. SIPRI. Report of activities 1972/1973. Stockholm, 1973.

285. Ford Foundation. op.cit., p.179, and interviews, 1974.

286. Ford Foundation. op.cit., p.180.

287. Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation. "A short description ..." op.cit.

288. The Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation organised for a number of eminent representatives of developing countries to meet with the 1977 Commission on Swedish International Development Co-operation. Similar trends are now visible in SAREC which, for example organised an international workshop in 1977: Björn Hettne and Peter Wallensteen, eds, Emerging trends in development theory. Stockholm, SAREC, 1978.

289. Nerfin, ed. op.cit. and Göran Bäckstrand and Lars Ingelstam. "What now. Another Sweden". Development dialogue, 1975.

290. This is especially so in the general pedagogical debate (see Schyl-Bjurman and Strömberg-Lind. op.cit. and Levin et.al. op.cit.) and in specific relationship to developing countries (Lindholm. Conjoining ... op.cit.), while some mention at least is made of Freire in the internationalisation of education discussions: Andersson and Sundgren. "Utbildnings internationalisering". op.cit.

291. Annika Sandström, Björn Sundström and Peter Egardt. "International student seminar final report". Stockholm, SFS, 1977.

292. AD/PAO. "Evaluation of development aid". Development education exchange 6, 1972.

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257. Lindholm. Seeing for oneself. op.cit. and SIDA "Africa seminar 1974". Stockholm, SIDA Information Division, 1974.

258. Information obtained during interviews in 1974 and 1976.

259. The Swedish National Board of Education. "Internationalization within popular education". School research newsletter 2, 1977.

260. Office of the Chancellor of the Swedish Universities. Summary of a preliminary report from the Internationalization Committee. Stockholm, 1973, pp.11-12.

261. Ibid., pp.13-14.

262. Ibid., pp.18-19.

263. It is interesting to note that, for the social sciences, the importance of vocational preparation for work in Sweden led the Committee to reject the parliament's request to introduce special programs aimed mainly at work in the developing countries: Ibid., p.25. However, special courses of internationally oriented studies in business administration, area studies of Eastern Europe and Latin America, international relations, international integration and international organisations, co-operation and conference techniques have been recommended: Östergren: "Internationalized education necessary to human survival". Current Sweden 38: 3, 1974.

264. Office of the Chancellor of the Swedish Universities. Summary ... op.cit. pp.22-9.

265. Office of the Chancellor of the Swedish Universities. Internationalizing education. op.cit., pp.45-58.

266. Office of the Chancellor of the Swedish Universities. Internationalizing higher education ... op.cit., p.8.

267. Personal communication, 19 July 1977 (Uppsala University).

268. Ford Foundation. International studies ... op.cit., p.161.

269. Ibid., p.162.

270. Ibid., pp.164-170.

271. Ibid., pp.173-6.

272. Ibid., p.177.

273. Ford Foundation, op.cit., pp.177-178.

274. Gunnar Boalt and Bengt Abrahamsson. "Swedish sociology: trends and prospects". Current sociology 25(1):101, 1977.

275. Ibid., p.103.

276. Ibid., p.105.

277. Ibid., pp.106-109.